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ROUNDTABLE OF SOCIALIST MBFR DELEGATES

AU071900 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Apr 82 pp 1-6

[Nencho Khranov, RABOTNICHESKO DELO special correspondent, report on a roundtable discussion held at the Vienna Hofburg Castle, with the participation of the Soviet, Bulgarian, Polish and CSSR delegates to the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe -- date of discussion not given]

[Text] Vienna, 4 Apr -- The Vienna negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe have been going on for as long as 9 years. The great goal of this forum is to begin a mutual reduction of the military potential situated in the most explosive area of the European Continent.

Owing to the attitude of the Western partners in the negotiations, however, this goal had remained unfulfilled. The most important event in the 26th round of the Vienna negotiations is the new proposal submitted by the socialist countries to reach an agreement on the first stage of reductions. What does this proposal represent in its essence? What kind of opportunities does it contain as regards a way out of the deadlock? These were the chief problems discussed at the traditional roundtable talk organized by our daily RABOTNICKESKO DELO at the Vienna Hofburg Castle with leaders of delegations participating in the negotiations. The following officials participated in our discussion: Ambassador Valerian Mikhaylov from the USSR, Ambassador Stanislaw Przygodzki from the Polish People's Republic, Ambassador Emil Keblusek from the CSSR, and Ambassador Lyubomir Shopov from the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The text of this discussion reads as follows:

RABOTNICHESKO DELO: The efforts of the Soviet Union aimed at military detente and at an alleviation of tension on the European Continent and throughout the world are well known. How can you describe the role of the Vienna negotiations in the global efforts of the Soviet Union devoted to a limitation of the arms race?

V. Mikhaylov: In resolving the vitally important problem of liquidating military threat, as well as of reducing the level of military concentration and limiting the arms race, the USSR is fully aware of the important role assigned to the Vienna negotiations. We should by no means forget that we are talking about an era where the highest concentration of troops and armament has been achieved, and where the two most powerful military-political blocs are directly confronting each other. The Soviet leaders have repeatedly stressed the importance of overcoming stagnation in the Vienna negotiations, and the significance of achieving real progress in this respect. The new joint initiative of the socialist countries -- the draft agreement "on mutual reduction of armaments and armed forces and the accompanying measures in Central Europe at the first stage" -- is aimed at this goal precisely and was submitted to the Vienna negotiations in February 1982 by the delegation of the Polish People's Republic. The draft agreement contains all necessary elements permitting us to achieve a mutually acceptable agreement on an equal basis, and enabling us actually to proceed toward a reduction of the level of military confrontation in Central Europe, without affecting the security of any side whatsoever.

St. Przygodski: We must stress that this draft agreement reflects the stands on which mutual understanding, or at least a closeness of views between the two sides, actually exists. In addition to all this, the draft has a character of compromise, since it not only sums up proposals submitted earlier by the socialist countries, but also takes into consideration the essential aspects of the Western approach.

It is precisely in accordance with the wish of the Western countries, that the draft agreement envisages to reduce only the troops of the Soviet Union and the United States, in the first stage, and to do this to a much lesser extent than the Warsaw Pact member-countries would have wished. In addition to this, the draft agreement includes clauses guaranteeing the indissoluble link between the two stages of reduction, and the comprehensive character of the entire reduction process. This can be mainly achieved through a commitment of all participating states to reduce their own troops and armaments in the second stage. The signing of such an agreement is likely to stop a further increase and intensification of the already existing, dangerous concentration of armed forces and armament in Central Europe, and also contribute to further steps toward a reduction of military confrontation and toward the establishment of more stable relations. In addition to all this, the draft agreement does not grant one-sided military advantages to any side, and does not disrupt the existing, approximate balance of forces in Central Europe.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO: What opportunities as regards military detente in Europe do you see in the new initiatives announced by Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev at the 17th congress of Soviet trade unions?

V. Mikhaylov: L.I. Brezhnev's speech to the 17th congress of Soviet trade unions, in which he announced a one-sided moratorium on the development of medium range nuclear missiles on the European territory of the USSR, as well as the intention of the Soviet side to reduce a certain number of its medium range missiles as early as this year, provided of course, that no further aggravation of international tension should occur -- this is a new demonstration of the USSR's readiness to actually alleviate the extent of military confrontation, and of its aspiration to contribute optimally to a settlement of the problem of limiting nuclear weapons in Europe on an equal and mutual basis.

The Vienna negotiations are also concentrating on the task of mutually reducing the level of military confrontation. In other words, the Vienna negotiations are an objective part of the all-European process. This is why we are correct in stating that L.I. Brezhnev's speech has created a more favorable atmosphere for reaching agreements in Vienna.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO: The NATO member-countries are purposefully implementing their Brussels program on "complementary rearmament" and are developing their doctrine of "limited nuclear war." They are producing new mass destruction means. How is the implementation of such plans likely to affect the situation in Central Europe?

E. Keblusek: The Brussels NATO program adopted in December 1979 on the deployment of medium range missiles in Western Europe, and the ensuing decisions of the Reagan administration on an intensive production and development of new mass destruction weapons, namely of neutron and chemical weapons, are entirely aimed at further expanding a global arms race, at confrontation and last but not least, at attaining a shift in the approximate balance of forces existing between the Warsaw Pact and the NATO member-countries in Europe, and particularly in Central Europe, to the advantage of the West.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO: How is such a situation likely to affect the Vienna negotiations?

E. Keblusek: As early as 1973, the socialist countries submitted an extensive program on a mutual and substantial reduction of ground forces, air forces and troops equipped with nuclear weapons, to the Vienna negotiations. This proposal took into consideration the fact that the fighting capacities of the two military blocs in Central Europe, as a whole, are to a great extent determined by the aforementioned types of armed forces and armament. However, keeping in mind the fact that the West is not ready to accept such a comprehensive solution to the proglrm, the socialist countries, in their new proposals submitted on 19 February 1976, made a considerable concession.

To put it precisely, the socialist countries, for example, agreed with the proposal submitted by the West in December 1975 which envisaged limitations and reductions of armament by the USSR and the United States in the first stage, "at their choice." This means reduction to a certain number of nuclear warheads, aircraft carriers, operational-tactical missiles, tanks and infantry-military equipment. The Western participants, however, adopted a negative attitude toward our constructive initiatives and concessions.

There is even more: In its latest proposals, submitted on 20 December 1979, following the already well-known NATO plans on "complementary nuclear rearmament," the West not only withdrew from its own proposal submitted in 1975, but even rejected any reduction of its own armament in the first as well as in the second stage. This Western appraoch is in contradiction to the mandate of the Vienna negotations which has been agreed upon, we well as to the principle of not affecting the security of any side whatsoever. This is why the socialist countries appeal to the West to adopt a realistic attitude as soon as possible, and to give a positive answer to the new draft agreement on the first stage submitted on 18 February 1982, as well as to the Soviet Union's initiatives announced by Leonid Ilich Brezhnev in his speech to the 17th congress of the Soviet trade unions, since these initiatives reveal very promising prospects for the future.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO: What makes the new draft agreement, submitted by the socialist countries, acceptable for the so-called flanking countries [as published] which are not directly participating in the reduction of troops and armaments? Comrade Shopov, can you tell us something about the stand adopted by the People's Republic of Bulgaria on this question, which you recently expressed in your official statement on behalf of our delegation?

L. Shopov: Our country fully supports this draft agreement. This attitude is inseparably linked to the peace-loving policy conducted by the People's Republic of Bulgaria and aimed at political and military detente, a policy which is inspired and confirmed by the initiatives of the peace programs adopted at the 26th CPSU Congress and the 12th BCP Congress.

The new draft agreement is acceptable because of its well-balanced character. It contains all necessary elements for achieving mutually acceptable solutions, which will produce a real reduction of armed forces and armament in the first stage.

I am emphasizing this fact because the commitment envisaged in the draft agreement for the participating states to freeze the number of their troops in Central Europe excludes all possibilities for any increase of armed forces in the future. This will undoubtedly exert a beneficial effect upon stability throughout our continent, including the Balkans. As a result of all this, the draft agteement is useful for the flanking countries as well, including the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO: Can you describe other characteristic features of the draft agreement that should be pointed out?

L. Shopov: I will mention only a few of them. The reduction of armament in the first as well as in the second stage guarantees the prerequisites for a genuine reduction of the high concentratoin of military potential existing in Central Europe.

On the other hand, the numerical reduction of army personnel in the air force, by a total of 200,000 men both for the NATO and Warsaw Pact member-countries, will considerably stop the arms race and play a role in limiting one of the most powerful modern types of armament. The present-day air force is an extraordinarily mobile branch of service, capable of promptly striking tremendously powerful blows from a great distance, both with traditional and nuclear weapons. The numerical limitation of air forces is likely to exert a great and immediate affect upon our country's security as well, since our territory is situated within the range of air forces.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO: The closing session of the Vienna negotiations 26th round is imminent. How do you evaluate the future prospects of this important forum?

St. Przygodski: The draft agreement submitted by the socialist countries on the first stage of reductions provides an opportunity for the Vienna negotiations to come out of their prolonged stagnation and to become a truly productive forum. We think that we should promptly proceed toward a specific discussion of this document so that it may gradually become a joint text, acceptable to all participating countries. As the experience of numerous international conferences and negotiations -- including those dealing with international security and disarmament -- has shown, practical work with a text has always been the most efficient method of achieving progress.

The proposals submitted by the socialist countries make it possible to overcome the stagnation in the Vienna negotiations and to achieve practical results. We are still waiting for a constructive reply from the West.

V. Mikhaylov: The future prospects of the Vienna negotiations depend upon the countries' political will to achieve a mutually acceptable agreement. As to the socialist states, their intentions and stands are unmistakable. They are in favor of such an agreement. This aspiration was once more confirmed by the socialist countries in submitting the draft on the first agreement, which provides a genuine opportunity for the beginning of a process of mutual reduction of military potential in Central Europe. Now everything depends upon the West and upon its readiness to manifest, in turn, a truly businesslike and constructive approach. Should this come true, the agreement can become a reality in the near future.

TRADE UNION CONGRESS OPENS IN SOFIA 8 APR

Leaders Attend Opening

AU080835 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0600 GMT 8 Apr 82

[Text] The People's Palace of Culture in Sofia was festively decorated. The worthiest representatives of the workers class, cooperative farmers and people's intelligentsia, the inspired laborers and intellectuals of our socialist country were also present today. Comrades Todor Zhivkov, Aleksandur Lilov, Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Milko Balev, Ognyan Doynov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Todor Bozhinov, Tsola Dragoycheva, Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Yordanov, Petur Dyulgerov, Stoyan Karadzhov, Dimitur Stanishev, Stoyan Mikhaylov, Misho Mishev, Vasil Tsanov, Chudomir Aleksandrov and Kiril Zarev were loudly and cordially welcomed when they entered the hall. The presidium is composed of representatives of trade union movements, distinguished workers and leaders of public, political and mass organizations.

The ninth trade union congress was opened by Comrade Petur Dyulgerov. The first session was chaired by Georgy Evgeniev, deputy chairman of the Bulgarian trade unions. At this point, working organs, a secretariat and an editorial commission are being created.

Following this, the congress took up the first item of the agenda -- the accountability report by the Bulgarian Central Council of Trade Unions to the ninth congress which is being read by Comrade Petur Dyulgerov.

USSR Delegation Arrives

AU071103 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 7 Apr 82

[Text] On 7 April at the invitation of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions a Soviet trade union delegation led by Stepan Shalayev, chairman of the All-Union Central Committee of the USSR Trade Unions, arrived in Bulgaria. The delegation will take part in the Ninth Congress of Bulgarian Trade Unions.

At Sofia Airport the delegation was greeted by Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Bulgarian Central Council of Trade Unions and BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate-member, secretaries of the Central Council, and Nikita Tolubeyev, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria.

ILO, WFTU Delegations Arrive

AU080730 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0430 GMT 8 Apr 82

[Text] Delegations of many countries have arrived in Bulgaria to attend the Ninth Congress of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, including the delegations of the WFTU and of the ILO.

DAILIES COMMENT ON TRADE UNIONS' ROLE

AU061900 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 5 April 1982 carries on pages 1 and 4, a 1,500-word article by Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Bulgarian Central Council of Trade Unions, entitled "Solid Support of the Party, Active Organizers of the Working People" devoted to the forthcoming Bulgarian trade unions congress.

Dyulgerov describes the successes of the Bulgarian trade unions in promoting plan fulfillment and in organizing numerous workers initiatives aimed at increasing labor productivity and economic achievements. He notes that "despite the difficult international situation, complicated by the actions of the imperialists and the unfavorable economic conditions existing on international markets, the Bulgarian people's living standard not only failed to deteriorate, but economic progress was even marked."

Dyulgerov further enumerates social achievements of the working people obtained with the participation of trade unions, such as improvement of public catering, improvement of public services to workers, labor protection measures, etc.

Dyulgerov notes that "a characteristic feature of the trade unions' pre-congress campaign is the openminded and constructive spirit of discussions, the critical and frank emphasis on shortcomings and the search for positive solutions to new task," adding that the same spirit should characterize the congress proceedings. "Our work is not deprived of substantial shortcomings and we must discuss them in a spirit of criticism and self-criticism," Dyulgerov notes.

Stressing that the "trade unions are strong and influential because they work under BCP leadership," Dyulgerov remarks that "the party's close ideological-political leadership has always been the most reliable guarantee for the correct development of trade unions and for the correct orientation of their activities toward the vital interests and needs of the workers class and of all working people." Dyulgerov further describes the development of trade unions since the historical April 1956 BCP Central Committee plenum, and points out Todor Zhivkov's role in guiding the trade unions' activities. Dyulgerov dwells on the trade unions' work in implementing the new economic mechanism, adding that a new task of the trade unions now is to "prepare the workers for their role as true masters of socialist property." The trade union chairman also deals with the role of trade unions "in the development of socialist democracy," noting that this socialist democracy is now "based on solid economic foundations, and this process qualitatively alters the role of the trade unions, transforming them into a basic institution of production democracy, into organizers of democratic forms of life within the collective."

Dyulgerov also dwells on the role of trade unions as "educators of the new individual" with emphasis on discipline, self-discipline and "irreconcilability toward negative manifestations, as well as a sense of strict social justice." As to the international implications of the forthcoming trade union congress, Dyulgerov states that "it will be a manifestation of proletarian internationalism and friendship with trade unions in fraternal socialist countries, as well as of solidarity in the struggle against imperialism." Dyulgerov strongly emphasizes the importance of the recent USSR trade unions congress and the significance of Brezhnev's speech at this congress," containing all answers to the most crucial problems of our epoch."

Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian on 5 April 1982 carries on page 3 a 1,500-word article by Prof Vasil Ivanov entitled "Trade Unions and Our Epoch" also devoted to the forthcoming Bulgarian trade unions' congress. This article treats more general aspects of the trade union movement and refers at the beginning, to the USSR trade unions congress and to the WFTU congress in Havana, after which it dwells on the forthcoming Bulgarian trade unions congress, describing it as a "congress of the entire working people." Ivanov heavily emphasizes the fact that the "basic strength of trade unions lies in party leadership," and stresses that "trade unions are linked by blood to party policy because this policy itself is an expression of the working people's interests and aspirations."

He adds that trade unions are "strong and invincible when they remain loyal to their class," when they serve the interests of working people, pointing out that "not only historical interests of the class as a whole are involved, but also the daily and vital demands and needs of the people" are meant.

Ivanov further dwells on the "defense functions" of trade unions, which are directed "against violations of socialist law and order, as well as against any actions harmful to the workers needs and interests." Ivanov adds that without these functions the activities of trade unions become "meaningless," and points out as follows: "General declarations and statements professing loyalty to socialism and to the class are worthless if practical and specific measures and care devoted to the working man's better life, better qualifications and better organization of his work, to his work in safe and healthy conditions, to his recreation, food supply and education are missing."

Ivanov devotes the rest of his article to the role of trade unions as "educators of the new individual" and as "direct organizers of the workers' collective," adding that the trade unions must "use all existing opportunities for exercising their great rights" and that they must display a businesslike and efficient approach to all tasks.

Ivanov also quotes Todor Zhivkov's statements on the development and importance of trade unions, and expresses the hope that the 10th Congress of Bulgarian Trade Unions will be a complete success, adding that "under the tested leadership of the BCP, the trade unions are capable of performing miracles."

SWEDISH PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION PAYS VISIT

Delegation Arrives 4 Apr

AU041944 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 4 Apr 82

[Text] On 4 April at the invitation of the National Assembly, a Swedish parliamentary delegation led by Ingemund Bengtsson, chairman of the parliament of the Kingdom of Sweden, arrived in Bulgaria. At Sofia Airport the delegation was greeted by Stanko Todorov, National Assembly chairman, deputy chairmen of the National Assembly and deputies. Hans Anders Anden, Swedish ambassador to Bulgaria, was also at the airport.

Meet Mladenov, Todorov

AU051909 Sofia BTA in English 1833 GMT 5 Apr 82

[Text] Sofia, 5 Apr (BTA) -- Bulgaro-Swedish relations are good but the two countries' parliaments can assist these relations to become better -- Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, said at the talks Bulgaria and Sweden's parliamentary delegations opened here this morning. He pointed to the existing possibilities for extending parliamentary contacts to contribute to the expanding of cooperation in all spheres.

The Swedish parliamentary delegation is led by Mr Ingemund Bengtsson, speaker of the parliament, including representatives of all political parties in the country. Mr Ingemund Bengtsson also expressed his satisfaction with the possibility for Bulgaria and Sweden to exchange delegations at various levels.

The two-hour talk was dedicated to the exchange of information on the activity of parliaments and on the socio-economic development of the two countries.

The Swedish parliamentary delegation was received this afternoon by Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs. Minister Mladenov made the guests familiar with the principles of the Bulgarian foreign policy -- principles of peace, understanding, friendship and cooperation with all countries, irrespective of their social systems.

In reply to the interest evinced by the Swedish parliamentarists, Minister Mladenov informed them in detail of Bulgaria's policy in the Balkans, aimed at strengthening the goodneighbourliness and friendship. He expressed Bulgaria's optimism with respect to the initiative for creating a nuclear-free zone in the region.

Zhivkov Receives Delegation

AU071545 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 7 Apr 82

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, has received the Swedish parliamentary delegation led by Ingemund Bengtsson, speaker of the parliament. Todor Zhivkov spoke about the successes of our country in socioeconomic development, and touched on the principled and consistent struggle of the Bulgarian people for peace and disarmament. Comrade Todor Zhivkov also expressed satisfaction with the good development of Bulgarian-Swedish relations, and emphasized that there were untapped possibilities for developing bilateral relations. He stressed that the ascending and positive development of Bulgarian-Swedish relations is in keeping with the interests of the two countries and contributes to improving the political climate in Europe and throughout the world. Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, also attended the talks.

Closing Talks

AU071736 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 7 Apr 82

[Text] The closing talks between the delegation of the Bulgarian parliament and the visiting Swedish parliamentary delegation led by Ingemund Bengtsson, speaker of the parliament, were held in Sofia. In the present complicated international situation, Bulgaria and Sweden can contribute much to turning the Balkans and northern Europe into nuclear-free zones, Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, said. The parliamentarians of the two countries discussed in a friendly atmosphere some topical international issues and emphasized the need for an active and consistent struggle for disarmament and establishing lasting peace and understanding.

REPRESENTATIVE SPEAKS TO UN SPECIAL COMMITTEE

AU071543 Sofia BTA in English 1335 GMT 7 Apr 82

[Report by BTA correspondent in New York]

[Text] New York, 7 Apr (BTA) -- Mr Dimitur Kostov, deputy permanent representative of Bulgaria at the United Nations, underlined in his speech at the session of the UN special committee for a more effective realization of the principle of non-use of force in international relations, that the committee's work is gaining increasingly in importance due to the marked deterioration of international relations of late. He pointed out as a reason for all this "the stepped up excessive arming, started by the United States, and the intention, made public by its administration, to solve the international questions by force and through military, political and economic pressure on the other states," which threatens gravely international peace.

Mr Kostov noted that the present U.S. Government has shrunk from its former international obligations, such as the documents on the basic principles in Soviet-American relations and the SALT talks, and warned of extreme danger ensuing from Washington's ideas and plans for a 'limited nuclear war'. He stressed on this basis that the signing of the Soviet-proposed treaty on non-use of force in international relations would be of enormous importance for strengthening stability and peace in the world.

RUDE PRAVO INTERVIEWS CPCZ SECRETARY BILAK

AU061200 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Apr 82 p 3

[Interview with Vasil Bilak, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, conducted by Bohus Travnicek, Bratislava PRAVDA chief editor and member of RUDE PRAVO editorial board: "Consistent Implementation of the Marxist-Leninist Policy" -- date and place not given]

[Text] Recently, 2 years have elapsed since the important 15th CPCZ Central Committee session. The session stressed that in the process of building advanced socialism demands were constantly growing as regards the standard and effectiveness of the ideological and political-educational work. The basis for improving effectiveness lies in a consistent implementation of Leninist principles, above all, of the scientific, party, practical, concrete, offensive and planned approach, in its close connection with the fulfillment of the economic and political tasks.

The 15th session noted that the education of the socialist man was a complex, long-term process, not limited by time. The editorial offices of RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA have asked Comrade Vasil Bilak, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, to answer several questions and to give his views on problems which we come across in this process. Bohus Travnicek, PRAVDA editor and member of RUDE PRAVO editorial board put the questions to Comrade Bilak.

[Question] The documents of the 15th CPCZ Central Committee session stressed the following extraordinarily important task: to continue to raise the standard and the effectiveness of the political-educational and ideological work, to link it firmly with the practical tasks of building an advanced socialist society, or in other words: with a comprehensive approach to deepen the links between ideological and political-educational work and economic and organizational work. It is our opinion that to date we have not been successful enough as regards the fulfillment of that task. What are the basic causes of that and what do we have to do to begin to consistently fulfill this cardinal task?

[Answer] The fact that the CPCZ Central Committee assessed the ideological and political-educational work and adopted a resolution on these important questions does not mean that everything will change suddenly. It is not that simple. The mind of man, his enlightened attitude does not form on the basis of instructions or orders, but on the basis of the long-term influence of the basis and superstructure. Although unlike the production in factories and in the fields the results of the ideological and political-educational work can neither be weighed nor measured, progress has also been achieved in this sphere. This progress was appreciated also by Comrade G. Husak at the 16th CPCZ Congress when, among other things, he said: "In all the successes that our people have achieved under the communist party's guidance the party's ideological and political-educational work undoubtedly plays a role... we can say without exaggeration that the majority of our people intrinisically associate their lives with socialism. They show their affinity with our system, the party policy and their patriotism by selfless, honest work and civic commitment."

Together with this one has to admit that we have not been successful in everything. We are speaking here about the comprehension of political-educational work in its entire comprehensiveness and connecting it with tasks in production, research and science.

The causes lie in the ideological sphere on the one hand, and in the economic sphere on the other.

The situation demands that the personnel in the social-science sectors be even more involved with the practical tasks of socialist construction, that they study more profoundly the problems that our society must resolve. In order to do so, they must have more information from sectors in which problems arise. Life often crosses our plans.

If one does not see things coming in time, propaganda is not topical and, moreover, it looks untruthful and thus not convincing. The 15th CPCZ Central Committee oriented the ideological and economic spheres precisely toward these needs.

The personnel of the state and economic apparatus also bear their share of the shortcomings if they do not understand that ideological and educational work must be an inseparable part of their organizational activity. Many are quick to quote resolutions pertaining to thriftiness, quality of production, the great importance of the education of the socialist man and similar things, but at the same time they tolerate poor quality products and waste and they underestimate the importance of political-educational work.

It does no harm to recall one bad habit which we must overcome, because it negatively influences the thinking and the behavior of people. What is involved are two extremes as regards the approach toward the tasks determined by the 16th CPCZ Congress. On the one hand people grumble that the situation has never been so complicated, as if socialist industrialization, the socialist reconstruction of the countryside, the cultural revolution and the defense of the working people's political power against the ferocious onslaught of imperialism were easier tasks than those we face today. On the other hand, there are still quite a few of those who will not let anything disturb their carefree ways.

The hurrah-revolutionaries have a tendency to magnify shortcomings and capitulate before them even when things are going smoothly, but they succumb altogether to panic when one has to fight it out with difficulties.

I think that the key to the entire problem lies in the patient, purposeful fostering of a genuine socialist relationship toward work, in which people correctly comprehend and, above all, actively manifest the development of socialist awareness, whose expression is unity of thought and deed, and active and selfless work for the whole of society.

In this respect propaganda and ideoeducational work play an important role, but they are not omnipotent. We all are marked by the past to some extent. Among us there are, and will be for a long time to come phenomena such as greed, egoism, careerism, incompetence, laziness and similar qualities which every person has to a greater or lesser degree. But the question is whether with upbringing in the family, school, collective or with one's own will we can suppress them or whether we give them the opportunity to develop. As long as the concrete bearers of these qualities are immune to ideoeducational instruments, persuasion and criticism, there is nothing to be done but to recall them from their functions and jobs, where they only do harm to the socialist society and discredit the cause of socialism by their behavior. Also this course of action is, among other things, an educational instrument and is not at variance with socialist democracy. An all-round development of this democracy, as Comrade L.I. Brezhnev stressed at the Soviet trade union congress, is the best medicine in the struggle against bureaucratism, slovenliness and incompetence. Formalism and egoism do not prosper in an atmosphere of constructive criticism and self-criticism, in the presence of the effective participation of the working people in management, which forms their awareness and social profile and at the same time establishes harmony between politics, ideology and economic practice.

[Question] At the 15th CPCZ Congress, the report of the Central Committee Presidium noted the extraordinarily important fact that many tasks determined by the congress or the session of the CPCZ Central Committee are being orally recognized and emphasized with slogans, but are not being responsibly implemented everywhere.

At the same time the report noted that the trouble is that much formalism, alibism and indolence survives in our country, that those in positions of responsibility of not always behave with communist principledness, are often scheming and substantiate shortcomings in their own work with the so-called objective reasons. What is to be done to increase the obligatory nature and the authority of resolutions?

[Answer] It is necessary to realize that working out and passing a resolution is only the beginning of what we want to achieve; implementing it is a much more demanding task. Creating an atmosphere of great exactness when working out and fulfilling the line of the 15th CPCZ Congress, the CPCZ resolution and the resolutions of the party and state agencies in general is an important task. This requires the resolution to be clear, concrete and to the point.

I do not claim that nothing has improved, but we are lagging behind developments and needs all the time.

The duty of communists and the party agencies and organizations is to ensure that there is unity of word and deed in political-educational work as well as in the entire sphere of management. On the basis of this unity communists have persuaded the people of the correctness of the policy and won them for its fulfillment.

The party, state and social agencies are very responsibly and carefully devoting themselves to the study of important issues pertaining to the development of our society, they are searching for ways to resolve various problems. However, someone has to fulfill the adopted resolutions, and precisely here there are shortcomings. It is obvious that, for example, the resolutions adopted by the congress or the sessions of the party Central Committee cannot be detailed, but can only have the form of a more or less general directive. The success of their fulfillment can only be ensured by how well these directives are elaborated by lower party, state and social agencies to fit their specific conditions. The lower the agency, the more specifically it must elaborate the appropriate resolutions. This does not happen often, however. Many economic agencies for example, instead of concretizing resolutions, again limit themselves to a general directive, which specifically obliges and mobilizes no one. It often happens that some agencies interpret party resolutions and government directives in their own way, noncomprehensively, from the viewpoint of their narrow departmental, local, group or professional interests. The result of such a way of "working out" [of resolutions and directives] is that even good resolutions are distorted, nonspecific and nonobligatory. There are even people who are already thinking ahead how to avoid fulfilling an appropriate resolution, how to divest themselves of the responsibility to implement it, or to implement it in such a way as to have their cake and eat it -- that is, their selfish interests remain intact. The result is again a formalistic fulfillment and actual nonfulfillment of resolutions. They are putting forward various, often disproportionate conditions for implementing resolutions, demand maximum authority and means, but a minimum of responsibility.

In the course of working and implementing resolutions, we frequently come across bureaucratic and technocratic approaches. Their foundation is the faith in the unlimited power of economic-administrative measures, which on their own, without the resolutions being known to masses and without their initiative, are doomed.

The Central Committee has stressed several times that the requirements of the party's economic policy must become close and comprehensible to every working man, for him to understand that they are in keeping with his vital interests and that it is therefore his duty to contribute with initiative to its success. It is necessary to establish in the work collectives an atmosphere in which a consistent fulfillment of tasks will become a matter of honor for all working people.

Wherever the set tasks are not being fulfilled, the reasons for this must be analyzed. It is necessary to determine whether they are of an objective nature or whether they lie in the people. It is essential that the concrete perpetrators of shortcomings and failures to fulfill resolutions be called to account more energetically than heretofore. Only then will people come to understand that the mistakes do not arise from the socialist system but are a product of the incorrect approach of individuals.

To enhance the binding nature of adopted resolutions, it is necessary to far more consistently control their fulfillment. The control of the implementation of every resolution should start with the control of its elaboration.

Everyone whom a resolution concerns should know his task and realize that by not fulfilling the resolution he is harming not only society but also himself, and his family.

[Question] The 15th CPCZ Central Committee session stressed a highly topical task -- to more consistently apply the socialist principles of remuneration and to wage a struggle against egalitarianism, which is the foundation of actual inequality. Why do we approach this issue so halfheartedly? Though its solution is up to the state and economic agencies, the ideological front, too, cannot be indifferent to it. What are the tasks in this respect?

[Answer] Your question concerns a very important task of the economic and ideological sphere, which is closely connected with what has already been said.

Remuneration on the basis of the quantity, quality and social importance of work is one of the key principles of socialism. There are no antagonistic class frictions and no abysmal differences between people in a socialist society. One's status and the respect and esteem shown to a person in our society are not dependent on his wealth or his prerogatives of birth but are determined by his work, by his contribution to society. We have done away with exploitation and ensured the right to work for everyone. These are tremendous gains of socialism. In the present stage of the socialist society's development it is not possible to introduce the communist principle of distribution according to need. The resources and the work results are not sufficient for this, nor has people's awareness reached the corresponding level. Next to moral incentives, material incentives must inevitably exert their influence -- and they are projected precisely into remuneration according to work results.

Egalitarianism runs counter to the socialist principles of remuneration. It is very important to recall this because egalitarian approaches are being applied in the economic sphere, and will continue to be applied for a long time, though they are being verbally denounced. Such approaches must be overcome with tenacity because egalitarianism depreciates the work of those who are capable of and want to work better, with more dedication, effectiveness and resourcefulness. It negatively affects the development of society, and benefits those who work carelessly and slow down the growth of labor productivity and the economy's performance. That is why it is necessary to energetically introduce order into remuneration and to justly evaluate the work of individuals according to actual results, on the basis of accurate and well-founded norms. Only in this way shall we succeed in elevating those who work honestly and in establishing an atmosphere in the work collectives that will require good work and will not tolerate slipshod work. The overwhelming majority of people work honestly and understand these principles.

Why then are we not yet succeeding everywhere in effectively enforcing those principles? Because this is one of the very complex issues that we must deal with. Even though work performance is not equal, equal remuneration is claimed.

Part of the reason is that accurate procedures and norms have not yet been stipulated in all sectors, that the correct principles of the wage and payment policy have not yet worked their way into practice everywhere, but also that the production rhythm is being slowed down by all kinds of disturbing influences. However, very often one can see excessive cautiousness, the desire for peace and quiet, the endeavor to avoid possible conflicts. Those approaches and sentiments, which may rightly be called opportunistic, must be resisted by all means. Ideological and educational work play a very responsible role in this respect. It is a fact that even correct principles do not gain ground in practice on their own. It is not possible to merely decree them, they must have their fertile soil in people's minds, they must convince them. That is why one of the main missions of political and educational work, as stressed by the 15th CPCZ Central Committee session is to support those who work well and to fight unhealthy egalitarianism but also phenomena such as complacency. Diehardism, irresponsibility, parasitism, and pilferage of common property. In ideological work we must follow up the good traditions that are firmly rooted in the minds and customs of our people such as industriousness, dedication, skill, the ability to cope with problems, precision and resourcefulness. These traditions must be further developed.

I would like to draw special attention to the essential need to raise work discipline, and that in all sectors from top to bottom. Under capitalism it is the fear of unemployment that provides the incentive. In the socialist society, work discipline is an expression of the organization of free producers. However, it does not come about automatically. Lenin regarded the assertion of work discipline as one of the most important and most difficult tasks of the builders of socialism. How topical do his words sound that "the success of socialism is unthinkable without the victory of class-conscious proletarian discipline over unrestrained petit bourgeois anarchy."

Many of our present difficulties and problems are contained in the nonobservance of state and work discipline. Many comrades incorrectly assume that it would be inconsistent with socialist humanism to demand discipline, or even that this would be a return to capitalist discipline. Discipline is discipline, it means order and a sense of responsibility. Under both capitalism and socialism a locomotive driver must safely bring his passengers to their destination, a construction worker build a house, a physician heal people and so forth. In our country some people still indulge in the false notions that everything that capitalism ever produced is harmful. They forget that already Lenin considered it essential to make use in building socialism of all valuable scientific and technological accomplishments achieved under capitalism.

Besides, not everything that is being attributed to capitalism originated in its era. After all, even in the pre-capitalist systems people really cared about having good quality products, tools for example, or nice houses. All the more important is it to see to it that quality, good organization of labor and discipline be natural requirements under socialism when the people are managers, masters of their own property.

As far as social policy is concerned, the socialist society must naturally proceed from principles different from the principle of distribution according to work. This policy is guided by social needs. The function of social policy is to support those of whom it cannot be said that they do not want to work but who cannot work, those who are retired, who are ill or disabled. Its function is to assist families with children, to see to the wholesome physical and mental development of the youth, and so forth. Social policy is thus governed by different principles. However, this is not at variance with what has been said earlier. When we improve our work performance and achieve the desirable turnabout in labor productivity and economic effectiveness, we will be able to spend more on social purposes and increase not only individual but also social consumption.

[Question] We are still disconcerted by your warning pronounced at a statewide aktiv a few days after the 15th CPCZ Central Committee session. You voiced the idea that even if we were drowning in prosperity and had everything under the sun but underestimated political and educational work, we would get only a new "socialist" petit bourgeois who would be immensely difficult to reeducate. We are possibly mistaken but we believe that this petit bourgeois is already "thriving." What must be done to put an end to this dangerous phenomenon?

[Answer] The very formulation of the question suggests that the problem of the petit bourgeois is more complex than it appears at first sight and than is generally understood. I would not claim that the number of petit bourgeois persons is "thriving." What does it mean "to put an end"? Is it possible to erect some sort of an artificial watertight dam? The most effective real dam against petit bourgeois ways is the socialist social system and a consistent Marxist-Leninist policy. We began to build socialism with the people that the preceding social system left us. It could not be any different. The education of the socialist person is the most difficult task of the socialist revolution. It is a long-term task. We should not forget this even for a moment.

The petit bourgeois and its influence and ideology were formed as an intermediate social class that filled the gap between the bourgeoisie and hired labor. Socialism liquidated the petit bourgeoisie as a socioeconomic class but features that are alien and harmful to socialism still appear in the habits of individuals.

The desire to stand out, to be better than others and to be successful in life is a natural quality of every normal citizen. There is nothing evil about it. The important thing is under what social conditions it is asserted. Capitalism permits and even supports in personal relations the principle that man preys upon man. Such relations are inherent to capitalism. The petit bourgeois can be an industrious, assiduous, economical and outwardly very decent person but when it comes to his personal goals and designs he asserts them even at the cost of brutality, dishonesty and fraud and considers it normal. Socialism makes it possible for all noble aspects and qualities of man to develop in harmony, for the benefit of the whole society. Even today the cases are not rare that a man who is regarded in his collective and in his surroundings as a good person changes beyond recognition. For some it is enough to be promoted and they begin to behave toward other people coarsely, insensitively and haughtily. They turn into petit bourgeois persons. In other words, even under socialism we will not be protected against the danger of a certain regeneration of petit bourgeois ways, if we fail to wage a consistent struggle for a socialist way of life and against some of its deformations.

A critical atmosphere and a good collective can accomplish a great deal in this respect but the most important thing is that man himself should ponder his own conduct, learn, refrain from placing himself above and isolating himself from the working people, and resist petit bourgeois temptations. There are people among us who verbally acknowledge that petit bourgeois ways are harmful but who in practice think and act differently. The purpose of their lives is to amass material wealth and the endeavor to gain from society as much as possible while giving it as little as possible. The predominant qualities of their lives are egotism, unscrupulousness, scheming, envy, careerism and kow-towing to the bourgeois way of life.

These consumer-type ethics, alien to the ethics of the workers class, tempt some people to pursue their personal enrichment by seeking various ways of getting remuneration for what they did not do or did slovenly, they seek income on the side, accept various bribes and so forth.

To be correctly understood -- when someone builds with his honestly earned money a weekend house, buys a car or a nice picture, when he likes to travel or to dress himself stylishly, this cannot be viewed as a petit bourgeois manifestation. The purpose of his life is not to place himself above others, to isolate himself from the collective, but to work as well as possible, to create ever greater values for the socialist society, to be active, to show initiative and to inspire others by his own example so that they, too, fulfill their tasks as well as they can. It is correct to reward such people morally and materially and express appreciation for them.

It was no coincidence that at the 16th CPCZ Congress Comrade G. Husak said that the main task was to wage a high-principled struggle against various petit bourgeois manifestations and relics in people's minds. Petit bourgeois ways occur in hundreds of forms and varieties in our society. We must not forget that petit bourgeois attitudes are also purposefully supported by hostile propaganda, which is reinforcing individualist inclinations, poisoning the lives of upright people and in its ultimate consequences slowing down our party's endeavor to strengthen the political and ideological unity between the party and the people.

An important and irreplaceable role in the struggle against petit bourgeois manifestations and in establishing a critical atmosphere is played by the party's ideological, educational and mass-political work. However, in order to become increasingly effective, this work must be perceived and implemented in a fully comprehensive manner and wage a frontal struggle against those abuses that create fertile soil for spreading the petit bourgeois contagion. Ideological and educational work, no matter how good it is, will not yield the necessary results as long as there are shortcomings in planning, management, labor organization, control, supplies and services and a lack of criticism and self-criticism -- in brief, as long as there are crevices creating fertile soil for petit bourgeois relics.

Our ideological work must continuously improve its methods of fighting petit bourgeois ways, show their wretchedness and harm and thus assist in the upbringing of a comprehensively developed socialist person.

PRESS COMMENTS ON REAGAN'S PRESS CONFERENCE

AU061300 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 2 April on page 7 carries a 500-word "ZR"-signed report on President Reagan's 31 March Washington press conference entitled "He Is Not Interested in Negotiations, But in Missiles." The report notes that in his speech Reagan reiterated the "zero option" from November 1981, and characterizes this proposal as "presupposing the USSR's unilateral disarmamant, that is the liquidation of its defensive missiles directed against U.S. forward-based nuclear missiles in Western Europe." It goes on to note the "omissions" in Reagan's speech, saying: "He passed over in silence the fact that, through the fault of the NATO countries' obstructions, the Vienna talks have been treading water for several years now. He did not mention at all the SALT-2 treaty, which has not become effective because the United States refused to ratify it. Nor did the President mention the Soviet proposals, which call on the United States to expeditiously start negotiations on limiting and reducing strategic arms and not to allow the present parity to be upset."

On Reagan's speech, the report further notes his support for the Jackson-Warner draft and describes this proposal as "proceeding from the full implementation of the colossal arms programs approved by the president, especially in the sphere of nuclear arms." The purpose of the proposal, according to the report, is to block the appeal by 173 U.S. congressmen calling for an end to the arms race "because this appeal is not based on the demand to gain military supremacy over the Soviet Union."

Summing up, the report says that "the U.S. President's press conference was a big propaganda trick whose objective was to deceive American public opinion, which more and more vociferously demands a halt of the feverish pursuit of armament."

Under the same headline, RUDE PRAVO carries a 350-word commentary by its Washington correspondent Dusan Rovensky. In it Rovensky deals at length with the "growing criticism" of Reagan's policy in the United States and his declining popularity and views the press conference as Reagan's "attempt to weaken the criticism of his policy, an attempt to divert the attention of the American and international public from real and urgent problems -- especially from the reduction of military tension." According to Rovensky, Reagan's statements can be summed up in a single sentence: "not dialogue, but missiles." Giving his rationale for this assessment, Rovensky says: "Reagan not only reiterated unacceptable conditions for negotiations with the Soviet Union but also again rejected the initiative expressed by Leonid Brezhnev at the congress of Soviet trade unions. He also spoke out against those voices in the United States that call for negotiations with the Soviet Union, for freezing the growth of nuclear arsenals."

On the same day, in its column "The Commentator's View" on page 7, Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak carries a 300-word Milan Rusko commentary on Reagan's press conference. According to Rusko, the views presented by Reagan on solving the medium-range missiles issue in Europe were marked by "warped logic" and "topsy-turvy notions," and his "soothing words about alleged American peace efforts" were only designed to "cover up his decision to carry on the dangerous policy of escalating armament."

Rusko goes on to say: "The American representative's demagogic demand to freeze Soviet and American nuclear weapons, however without the Soviet Union's taking into account the presence of American forward-based devices and the hundreds of missiles and other intermediate-range devices owned by Great Britain and France, which are capable of hitting targets on the Soviet Union's territory in 4-5 minutes, is either an impertinence or an expression of the total absence of sound and logical thought. However, in either case this is a shortcoming that increases doubts as to the ability of the White House chief to realistically assess the present international situation."

On the same page, Bratislava PRAVDA also carries a 350-word excerpt from a TASS commentary on Reagan's press conference.

On 3 April, on page 7, RUDE PRAVO carries an 800-word Zdenek Porybny commentary entitled "A Mountain Has Fathered a Mouse." Porybny opens by noting the big publicity that preceded Reagan's press conference, heralding that the conference would show Reagan as a "peacemaker" who seeks a reduction of nuclear arms. He then concedes that Reagan did speak about the reduction of nuclear arms and about ensuring parity between the United States and the Soviet Union but adds that "what matters are not the words but the actual deeds of the Reagan administration." And these deeds, according to Porybny, give Reagan's statements about parity a "peculiar content." To illustrate this point, Porybny refers to the failure of the United States to ratify the SALT-2 treaty, its "disregard" for Soviet disarmament proposals, the "stubborn endeavor" to deploy new medium-range missiles in Western Europe, its "hampering" of the Geneva talks, its "unconstructive approach" to the Vienna talks, its "breaking up" of the Madrid meeting, and to the "zero option" proposed by it

Porybny draws the conclusion: "It is self-evident that the empty words about a 'zero option' just as the present words about 'parity,' are only designed to deceive the international public, to serve as a smokescreen behind which the Pentagon will complete its planned program of deploying 572 new intermediate-range American missiles in Western Europe, a program that is aimed at gaining supremacy over the Soviet Union."

Having analyzed the motives of Reagan's statements, Porybny notes Reagan's failure to respond in his speech to the Brezhnev-announced moratorium on deploying intermediate-range missiles in the European part of the Soviet Union, and describes his call on the Soviet Union to reduce nuclear arms as "hypocritical." He then noted Reagan's support for the "unrealistic and for the other side unacceptable" proposal of Senator Jackson and his opposition to the appeal of 173 U.S. congressmen calling for a freeze of nuclear arms.

Porybny concludes the commentary by saying: "The British press detected in Reagan's latest speech an alleged 'new tone' and a 'change of emphasis,' but it immediately added that 'President Reagan's formulations are consistent with his earlier statement...' and the American President's earlier statements are well known: arm, arm, arm, this has been from the very beginning the purpose of his policy and he has never kept it a secret. This is certainly not the best nor the fastest way of arriving at what President Reagan claimed at his press conference this week to be his goal -- at limiting and reducing nuclear armament and the threat of a nuclear war."

SLOVAK PRAVDA VIEWS BRITISH-ARGENTINIAN CONFLICT

AU071315 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Apr 82 p 7

[Gabriel Zilinsky commentary: "Argentina's Conflict With Great Britain Over the Falkland Islands Is Coming to a Head; Into Whose Hands Does This Play"]

[Text] The British admiralty's navy ships are plowing ahead through the Atlantic. The nuclear submarine Superb has been put on combat alert and in a few days it will be joined by some 40 warships that left Portsmouth and Gibraltar yesterday in the direction of the Falklands Islands at the order of the M. Thatcher government. Like in the old times of past colonial glory, they are on their way to "defend the interests" of the British crown. The Falklands Islands colony and its dependent territories, with more than 12,000 square km and about 2,000 inhabitants, are located 500km southeast off Argentina's Patagonian coast in the Atlantic Ocean. Since 1833, when British troops chased out Argentinian settlers, the islands have been a constant bone of contention between Argentina and Great Britain. In recent years the UN General Assembly has even dealt with the problem several times; the two rivals broke off diplomatic relations for a time. Only in 1979 were these relations partially normalized.

In the last few days the conflict over the islands has come to a head and acquired the character of an undeclared war. The reason for this was the occupation of one of the islands -- South Georgia -- by a group of Argentinian traders. Following British threats, which were a reaction to the hoisting of the Argentinian flag on the island, Argentinian troops occupied the islands. President Leopoldo Galtieri told journalists that Argentina would not renounce its historical rights and is determined to start a war [odholdana zacat vojnu] with Britain to defend them.

The British Government, too, does not conceal its warmongering plans. In the British Parliament last weekend, Margaret Thatcher declared that her government will do everything necessary to restore the Falklands Islands to the British empire. She did not mention whether she wants to accomplish this by direct use of force or by blockading the island. One thing is certain, however: For the time being she does not intend to negotiate. The mutual conflict has actually come in handy for both governments. Great Britain is struggling with great economic problems. Its unemployment, for example, exceeds 3 million of the economically active population, while in Argentina inflation last year reached 140 percent and its foreign debt increased to more than $30 billion. Here again we come across the favorite trick of the bourgeoisie: When you have domestic problems, divert the populations' attention to the outside.

And there is also someone else to whom Argentina's conflict with Great Britian comes in handy. And that is none other than the U.S. Government. The White House press spokesman announced that, before starting the military action, the Argentinian president phoned President Reagan. Reagan allegedly appealed to Galtieri to settle the problem peacefully. Western news agencies note that a strong U.S. engagement in the further development of the conflict can be expected. In this connection the Brasilian daily CORREIRO BRASILIENSE wrote that Washington would like to exploit the conflict to strengthen its own position in the Atlantic and divert the attention of the world public, as well as of the U.S. population, from events in Central America. "The idea of building a military base on the Falklands Islands is not alien to the Pentagon. From the islands it is possible to control access to the Antarctic, the communications between the Pacific and Atlantic oceans, as well as the entire southern Atlantic all the way to Africa," the aforementioned daily wrote. Thus it is very possible that it will be American imperialism, as in the majority of cases like this, that will benefit from the conflict.

The British attempt to regain sovereignty over the Falklands Islands is one of the last spasms of the rule of the British colonial empire before it becomes finally defunct. After the disintegration of colonial empires the British colonial administration [Sprava] is an anachronism, said USSR permanent Representative O. Troyanovskiy in the debate of a UN Security Council session, and it is at variance with the fundamental UN documents. The UN stance, that the colonial status of these islands must be rescinded, is quite obvious from the fact that even in 1960 the UN General Assembly included the Falklands Islands among territories which should be granted independence.

BRIEFS

SLOVAK MAGNESITE PRODUCTION -- Slovakia produces approximately 3.9 million tons of magnesite annually. Half of the magnesite production is exported for more than 750 million foreign currency korunas. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 Apr 82 p 2 AU]

LIBYAN FRIENDSHIP DELEGATION -- A delegation of the Libyan-Czechoslovak Friendship Society, led by (Ali Wanis), secretary of the People's Committee of the Libyan-Czechoslovak Friendship Society, has arrived in the CSSR at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Society for International Relations. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Apr 82 p 2 AU]

SPRING FIELD WORK PROGRESS -- The North Bohemian farmers have sown spring crops on more than 26,000 hectares to date, thus implementing almost 50 percent of their planned task in this respect. Last weekend in the Louny area, farmers concluded the last stage of additional sowing [prisev] on 1,400 hectare of frost-damaged "thinly-sown" winter crops. In Southern Bohamia spring crops have been sown on 8,000 hectares thus far, and in Northern Moravia spring crops have been sown on more than two-thirds of the planned area, legumes on 50 percent and sugar beets on 25 percent of the planned area to date. [Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 5 Apr 82 p 1 AU]

COMMENTATOR CRITICIZES HAIG'S GEORGETOWN SPEECH

DW071537 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1000 GMT 7 Apr 82

[Text] In a speech at Washington's venerable Georgetown University, the U.S secretary of state made some dubious remarks on the first use of nuclear weapons. Here is the comment of our U.S. correspondent Horst Kaeubler:

What was said here in Washington recently is atrocious. The United States does not rule out a first strike with tactical nuclear weapons. The American politician who made this statement to the Center for Strategic Studies at Geoergetown University is Secretary of State Haig. The tactical nuclear weapons which could be used in such a first strike are the Pershing II and cruise missiles.

Can we better understand now why the administration is pressing, without waiting for the outcome of the Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva, to deploy these medium-range missiles in Europe? Considering a first nuclear strike means unscrupulously considering placing Europe under burning atomic mushroom clouds which would be more horrible than those of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

My listeners, nobody is threatening the United States with confrontation. Rather, the responsible people in the White House have had a Soviet offer in hand for quite some time. This offer suggests that the NATO and Warsaw Pact states commit themselves to renouncing once and for all the first use of nuclear weapons. However, in his speech Secretary of State Haig categorically rejected this Soviet offer which would play an enormous role in safeguarding peace. Does the United States want to keep its hands free for risky nuclear adventures in a world which can no longer be shaped in accordance with the ideas of the John Foster Dulles era?

Even in the United States, where the Reagan administration threatens the public with the Soviet menace, the Americans are becoming nervous. Increasing numbers of people are expressing fear that the administration could lead the country into a nuclear catastrophe. They are demanding more strongly than ever that Washington achieve a Soviet-American agreement on stopping the enormous nuclear armament machinery. Secretary of State Haig brusquely rejected this American demand in his Georgetown speech. Nobody, not even the known Washington agitators, believes the Reagan administration's contention that the United States must counterarm to get out of the situation of alleged military inferiority.

Senators Jackson and Moynihan, well-known inveterate SALT II adversaries, said in an ABC TV incerview that the statements of the Reagan administration are simply untrue. As before a strategic arms balance exists between the United States and the USSR.

In his Georgetown University speech, Secretary of State Haig went so far as to make a dubious statement, namely that the alternative demanded by American peace forces -- freezing nuclear weapons -- is wrong. Another alternative is needed, he said. More than any other, this speech discloses what alternative he means: continuing with nuclear rearmament which gives precedence not to negotiations but to the production of nuclear first-strike weapons such as the MX, the B-1 nuclear bomber, sea-based Trident submarine missiles, Pershing II missiles, cruise missiles and the neutron bomb. It is a program which retired Adm Gen Laroche called the first U.S. nuclear war program.

No, the U.S. Government is not interested in creating better relations with the Soviet Union; it is orientated toward confrontation strategy. Haig said that for the foreseeable future he could only imagine relations between the United States and the Soviet Union containing more differences than possibilities for rapprochement.

This statement is likely to cause a storm of indignation even here in the United States. Prominent personalities such as George Kennan, George Bundy, Robert McNamara and others intend to get together in Washington today to categorically urge the U.S. Government to make a common Soviet-American statement renouncing the first use of nuclear weapons.

SOVIET FRIENDSHIP CONGRESS TO MEET 12-13 MAY

LD022350 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1546 GMT 2 Apr 82

[Text] Berlin, 2 Apr (ADN) -- The 12th Congress of the Society for German-Soviet Friendship [DSF] will take place in Berlin from 12-13 May 1982. The congress motto will be: "Allies, Comrades-in-Arms, Friends".

According to a directive passed unanimously by the DSF Central Executive, preparation for the congress is given over to active participation in the implementation of the resolutions of the 10th SED. The mass organization with 6 million members sees it as its task "to make a growing contribution to the all-round strengthening of the GDR, of the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and thus to the preservation and securing of peace."

Erich Mueckenberger, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and DSF president, emphatically supported the latest Soviet peace initiative. He assessed it as "the logical continuation of the unflinching joint struggle of the socialist community of states for the securing of peace, for a Europe without nuclear weapons and finally for the total eradication of the danger of a nuclear war."

Erich Mueckenberger stressed that, with its decision on the 12th congress, the organization has entered a new stage in its work. This demands great efforts in accordance with the specific obligation of a friendship organization. Part of this is to conduct an offensive with the imperial class enemy and to effectively counter the anticommunist and anti-Soviet slander campaign.

As Kurt Thieme, secretary general of the society said, the forthcoming high lights such as the week of German-Soviet friendship in May, the 65th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution in November and the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR in December should be used to deepen socialist consciousness of history and the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union.

DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER MEETS ARAB MINISTERS

Jordanian Foreign Minister

LD022352 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1432 GMT 2 Apr 82

[Text] Amman, 2 Apr (ADN) -- At the end of two days of consultations in the Kingdom of Jordan, GDR Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Klaus Willerding was received by the Jordanian foreign affairs minister, Marwan al-Qasim, and the minister for occupied territory affairs [title as received], Hasan Ibrahim.

In the talks, in which both sides expressed their concern at the worsening of the international situation, opinions on the situation in Europe and in the Near and Middle East were exchanged. The Jordanian partners in the talks praised the GDR's principled stance towards the just struggle of the Arab peoples and its support for the PLO.

Meets Syrian Leaders

LD040324 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1910 GMT 3 Apr 82

[Text] Damascus, 3 Apr (ADN) -- GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Dr Klaus Willerding was received this weekend by Syrian Prime Minister Dr 'Abd ar-Ru'uf al-Kasm and Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam. Earlier Dr Willerding had consultations at the Syrian Foreign Ministry.

Both sides agreed that the rejection of the course of confrontation of the United States and its NATO allies, and thus the struggle to maintain world peace and guarantee international security, promotes close cooperation between all progressive and peace-loving forces and states in the world. The Syrian prime minister paid tribute to the GDR's consistent support for the just struggle of the Syrian people and other Arab peoples. He emphasized the traditional and mutually beneficial cooperation between Syria and the GDR in the most diverse spheres.

HAGER MEETS PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY LEADER

LD042130 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1703 GMT 4 Apr 82

[Text] Berlin, 4 Apr (ADN) -- On Sunday, Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received Alvaro Cunhal, secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party [PCP], who is currently visiting the GDR.

During the discussion, which took place in keeping with the traditional fraternal relations between the two parties, an exchange of views was held on the work of the SED and PCP. Topical problems of the international situation were discussed in detail.

Kurt Hager reported on the diverse initiatives by GDR workers in fulfilling the decisions of the 10th SED Congress. He explained the SED's economic strategy drawn up by the party congress for the GDR economy's continued dynamic development, which forms the basis for continuing the policy of unity of economic and social policy in the eighties.

The PCP secretary general gave extensive information about the struggle of Portuguese workers to defend their vital interests and to solve the serious political and economic problems facing the country in a democratic way. The two sides noted with great concern that international tensions are continuing to increase dangerously as a result of the peace-threatening course of imperialism's most aggressive circles, especially in the United States. They stressed the will of their parties to struggle resolutely to reduce the threat of war, to end the arms race and for specific disarmament steps. They expressed their full support in this respect for the peace program of the 26th CPSU Congress and the new Soviet peace initiatives. Present at the discussion was Guenter Sieber, member of the SED Central Committee and chief of the International Relations Department.

GHANAIAN GOVERNMENT DELEGATION ARRIVES FOR VISIT

LD061640 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1540 GMT 6 Apr 82

[Text] Berlin, 6 Apr (ADN) -- A delegation of the Provisional National Defense Council of the Republic of Ghana arrived in Berlin today on an official visit to the GDR. The delegation is headed by Chris Bukari Atim, a member of the council. The African guests were welcomed by Bernhard Neugebauer, GDR deputy foreign minister.

During their visit, Chris Bukarı Atim and the members of the delegation will hold talks with representatives of the GDR Government and with other leading persons.

Schulze Receives Delegation

LD072052 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1705 GMT 7 Apr 82

[Text] Berlin, 7 Apr (ADN) -- Deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers Rudolph Schulze, today received Chris Bukari Atim, member of the Ghanaian Provisional National Defense Council, on behalf of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council. The Ghanaian guest conveyed a personal message to Erich Honecker from chairman of the Provisional National Defense Council of the Republic of Ghana Jerry Rawlings.

During the talks, Rudolph Schulze praised the longstanding relations between the two states and the great efforts by the people of Ghana to strengthen their national independence.

Both sides underlined the need for increased efforts to preserve world peace in face of the confrontation course of the most aggressive circles of imperialism which resulted in an escalation of the international situation. They acquainted each other with current developments in their countries and both sides expressed the wish to deepen relations between the two states for mutual benefit and in the spirit of anti-imperialist solidarity.

The same day, Herbert Krolikowski, state secretary and first deputy minister of foreign affairs, received the Ghanaian delegation for a friendly exchange of views. Herbert Krolikowski assured the guests of the GDR's solidarity and friendship with the peoples of Africa who are fighting for their independence.

The Ghanaian delegation, which has been in the GDR since Tuesday, had another talk with acting GDR Deputy Minister for Foreign Trade Claus Gaedt.

FDJ SUPPORTS EFFORTS FOR SECURING PEACE

AU061843 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Apr 82 p 2

[Report on discussion by Eberhard Aurich, second secretary of the FDJ Central Council, with ADN -- date and place not given]

[Summary] Berlin (ADN) -- "In February and March 1982, about 90,000 events in the basic organizations and groups of the FDJ dealt with the subject 'Peace Must Be Defended -- Peace Must Be Armed!' In these events over 2 million FDJ members participated, and 1.5 million of them made statements in the discussion." In a talk with ADN, Eberhard Aurich, second secretary of the FDJ Central Council, reported on this and stated that this is proof of the importance which the GDR youth attributes to the preservation of peace in the world and the achievements of socialism in the GDR and the other countries of the socialist community. At the assemblies, it was stressed in many statements that in socialism no one profits from armament and there is a program to benefit the people instead in the socialist countries. Eberhard Aurich stressed that the GDR youth condemns the course of the most aggressive circles of the United States and NATO, and supports the new peace initiative of the USSR. Eberhard Aurich also stressed the personal commitments of the FDJ members for economically strengthening the GDR, and praised the decision of thousands of FDJ members to extend honorary service or enter a military career. Finally, the FDJ secretary stressed that the member assemblies have given a new impetus to implementing the decisions of the 10th SED Congress.

MSZMP'S BERECZ ON COLD-WAR TRENDS, TENSION

AU061307 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 3 Apr 82 p 5

[Gabor Fodor interview: "We Ourselves Are Shaping Our Future; Discussion With Janos Berecz, Head of the International Relations Department of the MSZMP Central Committee"]

[Text] There are, in international relations, increasingly frequent signs showing that mankind has come to a new turning point. All we can ascertain for the time being is that an era has ended without, however, a new one being prevalent. Perhaps this explains the fact that the search for paths has assumed a global character. On behalf of our editorial board, Gabor Fodor had a discussion with Janos Berecz, member and head of the International Relations Department of the MSZMP Central Committee and holder of the first academic scientific grade for the historical sciences, on this complex situation, which affects all of us, and the difficulties of path-seeking.

[Question] Following World War II, Europe's special status had made any danger of war in this area so enormous that it also made it avoidable. Here the conventional thinking is not that the cold war is a prologue to a hot war, but a special atmosphere of fear, in which the prologue itself is the drama, and possibly, conceivably the ultimate development. Following the previous period of development, tension is again increasing. Do you think it is possible that we will have to live our lives in an atmosphere of feeling threatened, a state that has almost been forgotten?

[Answer] This is a justified question. Not even the temporary interests of a single social stratum or group is linked to an intensification of the arms race and all that it may involve in the socialist countries. Numerous signs indicate that the escalation of such a process does not lie in the interests of most West European capitals, either. It was on this continent that detente achieved the greatest results, while the greatest changes took place elsewhere in the past one and a half to two decades. There has been a parity in the balance of power in Europe, and it was also possible to regulate coexistence between the two world systems institutionally. At the same time, despite the relative calm reigning on our continent, the forces of social progress and the anti-imperialist movements attained successes in the "Third World." The U.S. administration saw progressive changes as harmful to its "national interests" and is looking for an "international communist conspiracy" behind them. The present U.S. Government evidently thinks that, if the previous stability is replaced by an atmosphere of tension and confrontation in Europe, it could more easily stabilize or restore the oppressive regimes serving U.S. interests, regimes whose existence is no longer justified, in other parts of the world. However, a restless Europe is not reassuring for us Europeans.

[Question] Are we, in fact, witnessing efforts to bring to a successful conclusion the concept of trilateral cooperation patented by Brzezinski?

[Answer] No. The essence of the trilateral idea was the possibility of enhancing the world political influence of the United States, Japan and West Europe through the joint realization of a more complete identity of interests. However, they have not succeeded in realizing this concept and it is no longer at issue today. The United States now regards extension of the trilateral world political cooperation based on the realization of common interests as its own illusion and has instead resorted to a multifaceted, sometimes excessive and undisguised pressure on those concerned. Simultaneously and consequently, cold-war trends have appeared which, however, must not be mistaken for cold war itself.

[Question] In retrospect, the outbreak of "cold war #I" could be linked to Churchill's Fulton speech. However, after the speech was made, people -- whether they learned of it or not -- hardly said to one another that a cold war had broken out. The cold war was underway, but the concept of cold war was still lacking. That is not the case today. Fear, as it were, precedes itself. Many of us are concerned that a time will come when fear becomes permanent. Is it conceivable that this uncertainty will become more difficult to endure than the former certainty of dancing on the brink of a precipice?

[Answer] I should not think so. It is a fact, in any case, that people came almost from the "hot" war to the cold war of the fifties, from the fronts, concentration camps, ghettoes and air raid shelters. Tangible death, experienced daily, still lived so much in the nerve cells that nothing could possibly seem intolerably bad in comparison. It is also true, on the other hand, that, alongside the generation of those who experienced such a great deal, another generation has grown up, which one usually calls the children of detente, who were, in many respects, "quick to reach maturity" also psychologically. What I mean is: They have become accustomed to tranquillity more rapidly; thus, they are less capable of the resistance called for by the subsequent challenges of history. That is why it is so extremely important to pass on to them the experiences available to us. However, in addition to and beyond all that, the world situation is fundamentally different from what it was say, 30 years ago. I regard it as superfluous to describe even the most essential aspect of that on this occasion. Let me only note the fact that, although the United States has proclaimed a comprehensive formula based on its own superiority of strength, -- even according to its own appraisal -- it does not possess a superiority of strength. Under such circumstances, cold-war trends are conceivable, but an all-out cold war seems improbable. What we still have to recognize is more than a little. We must count on having a world much more fraught with conflicts as our home.

[Question] If the old reflexes have become unsuitable, what can the generation that has experienced a great deal pass on to the subsequent ones?

[Answer] Experiences are not reflexes. Experiences are not meant to reproduce behavior patterns on the basis of the remembrance of previous attitudes. On the contrary, experiences can and should be used to enable a nation, a party or an individual, for that matter, to select optimal solutions appropriate to new situations and changing circumstances. If you like, this is a specific cultural transfer, from whose lesson there is no escaping. Speaking of our party's experiences over a quarter of a century, Comrade Janos Kadar even warned of turning our own previous correct judgments and theses into dogmas. That is a very important experience of ours. Nothing can replace realistic analysis of the situations created by history, but accomplishing all that can be made easier by experience. And it should be added that, by experiences, we mean not only our own historical ones, but also the substance of knowledge accumulated by the communist parties, the Soviet Union and the peoples building socialism.

[Question] Can international reasons cause a hardening of domestic policy?

[Answer] In my opinion, they cannot.

[Question] Could a further intensification of international tension and a possible further exacerbation of cold-war trends not produce consequences that bring back, for instance, the social mistrust of ill remembrance, without this being, as yet, undetectable in our political intentions?

[Answer] No, such a thing cannot occur.

[Question] What guarantees it?

[Answer] There are several guarantees for it. One of the most important guarantees is our party's well thought-out policy, developed through a creative application, devoid of distortions, of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. A further guarantee is the maturity of Hungarian society and the increasingly rich reality of socialist democracy. Our people's political experiences are incomparably richer and their ideological maturity is of a higher standard than they were in the aforementioned period. These two prerequisites alone can serve as a basis for developing social consensus on every essential issue. The strength of the political capital we have thus far accumulated lies precisely in the fact that members of society do not harbor the suspicion that superfluous sacrifices are demanded of them. And, conversely, no one thinks that force should be used where it is enough to appeal to one's reason. Of course, it is always possible for persons or groups to appear that place unrest before a reasonable consensus. Irrespective of their proclaimed intentions, the activity of such individuals or groups trying to smuggle the tension-increasing policy of imperialism into our society. In such a case, we have the will and ability to protect ourselves from their harmful activity. However, that has nothing to do with political rigidity.

[Question] Where can one draw the line between voicing different views and an attitude aimed at social unrest?

[Answer] That line lies between debate and provocation. The choice of either debating or cooperating cannot be accepted in either social or international relations. In our party's opinion and experience, the possibility of debate is inherent in any normal cooperation. Provocation precludes cooperation, among other reasons, precisely because, its nature, it is incapable of debate. Debates are an indispensable means for creating any consensus, but provocations and unfounded challenges have never contributed to the development of a general consensus.

[Question] It is known that an inclination to political distortions was also inherent in the forced development of the economies of the European socialist countries following World War II. Can increased armament again compel us to force economic development?

[Answer] It cannot compel us to do so. It may compel us to make more sacrifices, but it can no longer compel us to pursue a forced development of the economy. Since that time, the capacity and structure of our economy and the method of accumulation have undergone a decisive change. The total national product of the community of the socialist countries is many times greater than it was at that time, and the standard of their scientific-technical base is hardly comparable by now with the conditions following World War II. Forced development was based on resorting to extensive reserves. However, these reserves have been exhausted. In that respect, the past cannot be repeated.

[Question] The world is in an extremely uneasy state. How does that affect the Hungarian economy, which, as is generally known, has an open structure? We have, on the one hand, a deepening capitalist world economic crisis, increasing protectionism and embargo policies, and, on the other hand, our country's improving dollar-account foreign trade balance sheet. Can these two trends operate in harmony in the long term?

[Answer] Yes, even with difficulty, they can operate in this way. Our economy has proved that it is possible to react appropriately to the constantly increasing difficulties we have had to face from the mid-seventies to this day. Greatly instrumental in this was also the fact that the friendly socialist countries are our allies in economic cooperation as well and, together, we are stronger. However, there is also another side to this. Significant groups of international capital regard the socialist countries as "large-scale enterpreneurs" with which it is possible to cooperate economically on the basis of mutual advantage. At one time, the situation was such that Western governments encouraged capital to establish such relations. Now, in some cases, capital defends the positions of detente when it does not want to relinquish the economic relations it has developed with the socialist countries. For instance, when the West German coalition openly voices its adherence to the realization of the natural gas business contracted with the Soviet Union even in the face of unprecedented pressure by the United States, then, by no means least of all, it "conveys the message" to domestic capital that it is protecting its interests and is bearing them in mind. Thus, alongside cold-war trends, there are other trends as well, which one must not disregard in considering future prospects. Socialist foreign policy strengthens these endeavors.

[Question] We are living in a society which, for a quarter of a century, has not been beset by any appreciable convulsions, where one has not had to make allowances for social unrest and terrorism and political turnabouts taking place overnight. How can it be explained that, despite that, our days are passing amid anguished glances backward and outward?

[Answer] We have become an intellectually mature society, with all the advantages and disadvantages that that involves. We must pay for our stability, among other things, with intellectual efforts. While we protect and develop our values, there are no taboos for us. We think in terms of time and space because we want to know the elements of our real position, for that is what we regard as a very important prerequisite for well-founded and realistic action. We do not sweep anything under the carpet, we want to consider everything worth analyzing and examining. We face facts even when they are sometimes distressing. In this, as in many other things, a sound division of work for the good of the common goal has developed in our country. We do not believe that everything must be done from a single center. The trade unions, other social organizations, the apparatuses of state administration, the scientific areas, the arts and the churches are pursuing their own independent activity and, while doing so, they are helping to formulate and enforce the socialist interests of the nation, which are inseparable from international peace and security. That is what makes collective responsibility possible and necessary. Such conditions are suitable for the maturity of society to manifest itself and prevail.

[Question] To conclude, a personal question. Following from his work alone, the head of the Central Committee's International Relations Department often travels abroad. On those occasions, how does it feel to be a Hungarian?

[Answer] It is a good feeling, for the same reason it is good to be a Hungarian communist at home.

[Fodor] I understand. Thank you for making this discussion possible.

WALESA DESCRIBES DOMESTIC EVENTS AS 'ILLEGAL'

NC071802 Paris AFP in English 1756 GMT 7 Apr 82

[Text] Paris, 7 Apr (AFP) -- Lech Walesa, head of the outlawed Solidarity trade union, said in an interview to be published here this week that he had lost "part of his confidence" in Polish ruler General Wojciech Jaruzelski and added that current developments in Poland were "illegal".

In an interview distributed by GAMMA news agency which will appear in this week's issue of the French weekly VSD, Mr Walesa said he regretted that the "entire world had failed to support us".

The president of the suspended independent trade union said in the interview -- described as the first to the West since he was detained after martial law last December -- that he was prepared to head a new trade union set up by the government "on condition that it have an identical status (to Solidarity) with people elected democratically on the job".

Commenting on martial law, Mr Walesa said that Solidarity had failed to realise that "the government would choose the path of violence".

He said he had received a personal Christmas letter from Pope John Paul II which was a "great comfort".

Mr Walesa added that the Polish authorities had permitted him to attend the baptism of his seventh child, Maria Victoria, on condition that it be a small ceremony. But he and his wife had preferred to hold a large public service, he said.

SOLIDARITY PLAN FM BROADCAST IN WARSAW 12 APRIL

PM071245 Paris LE MONDE in French 3 Apr 82 p 6

[Bernard Guetta dispatch: "Warsaw Daily Publishes Readers' Letters Supporting Solidarity"]

[Excerpt] Warsaw -- Some Solidarity members are going to try to make a short pirate radio broadcast on FM in Warsaw 12 April. This plan, announced in a pamphlet which began to circulate in the capital Thursday, had been in existence for a little over 2 months. If carried out it would be a major psychological success for the trade union's clandestine movements, which would thus assert their presence in a very spectacular way in a country which is both communist and under martial law.

Those responsible for this operation have deliberately decided to announce in advance not only the date of this broadcast but also the wavelength (70.1 megahertz) on which they will try to make themselves heard. Their plan seems to be to ensure that the operation receives the greatest possible publicity, counting on the fact that the probable jamming will certify the birth of their radio and will encourage the listeners to take part in the game of radio hide and seek which will then be initiated. There is obviously a danger that a thorough police operation might turn an ambitious plan into a defeat in the next 10 days.

KUBERSKI PRESS CONFERENCE REPORTAGE CONTINUES

Papal Visit Talks Revealed

LD071506 Warsaw PAP in English 1404 GMT 7 Apr 82

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 7 Apr (PAP) -- A meeting between the head of the Office for Religious Affairs Minister Jerzy Kuberski and foreign (?press), radio and TV correspondents accredited in Poland, devoted to the current state-church relations, opened at the Press Centre of the Foreign Ministry here today.

Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban is taking part in the conference.

Replying to questions, Minister Kuberski said that talks were underway on the pope's visit to Poland. There is no shortage of a sympathetic government attitude towards this question. The results of the talks will be made public in due time.

Responding to further questions of foreign correspondents, Minister Jerzy Kuberski said that the nearest session of the government-episcopate commission will be held at the end of April or in the first days of May. The session will examine the activity of charity organizations in Poland, including the Caritas organization.

Minister Kuberski said that in his opinion one of the important questions to be examined by the government-episcopate commission will be the issue of covenant. We come out for discussing this problem. There is no alternative to reconciliation. The church can play an important role in this respect as a mediator.

Asked again about the number of the arrested priests, the minister said that this concerns three priests who violated regulations and that these are not steps taken against the church. He added that no priest was interned in Poland.

More on Kuberski

LD071954 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 7 Apr 82

[Excerpts] The current problem of relations between the state and the church were discussed today at a meeting between the head of the Office for Religious Affairs, Minister Jerzy Kuberski, and government press spokesman, Minister Jerzy Urban, with correspondents of the foreign press. The conference took place at the Foreign Ministry Press Center in Warsaw.

Minister Kuberski said relations between the state and the church, as well as the religious policy of our state, have not changed since the declaration of martial law; we are interested in maintaining precisely this character of these relations.

At the last session of the joint commission of the government and the episcopate, both sides confirmed [word indistinct] this trend. I think, said Minister Kuberski, that the commission's debates will give rise to the conclusion that relations between the state and the church have in a certain sense, a model character.

We have adopted the principle, he said, that the commission always discusses the current situation in the country, while other points of the agenda are contained in its work program.

Next, Minister Kuberski characterized the church's assets in Poland, and reported that the joint commission had set up six working commissions on, among others, issues of the public-legal status of the church, problems of catechization among children and young people, and matters of education.

The minister next stressed that the introduction of martial law had not brought about any disturbance in the (?affairs) of the church. Despite the introduction of various kinds of restrictions, none of them concerned the church, either as regards religious ceremonies and rituals, or the system of training the clergy.

During the meeting there was a question about internees. The minister said: Nothing has changed in this respect. The church, from the very beginning, came out in favor of their release as rapidly as possible. Bishops have visited the internees 101 times; and other priests have visited 725 times. The internees have full access -- according to their (?wish) -- to pastoral envoys.

We are interested, said Minister Kuberski, in maintaining very good relations between the state and church.

WRON OFFICIALS MEET WITH CIVILIAN COMMITTEES

LD072148 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 7 Apr 82

[Text] Lt Gen Jozef Baryla, member of the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON], met with representatives of the civic committees of national rebirth from voivodships of the Silesian Military District in Wroclaw. Lt Gen Jozef Uzycki, member of WRON and commander of the Pomeranian Military District, met in Bydgoszcz with representatives of the civic committees of national rebirth from the Pomeranian region.

Discussed at the meetings were activities which are being developed by the civic committees of national rebirth and the issue of active participation in the work of committees in the process of restoring the normalization of socioeconomic life as well as creating the atmosphere of willingness to work hard.

The participants in the meetings were reminded of the fact that there are over 6,000 civic committees of national rebirth active nationwide. Branches of the committees are strengthening the social conviction that building bridges of cooperation between various milieux and various organizations which have various ways of looking at the world creates the great chance to emerge from the crisis and consequently for the normalization of life.

DEPUTY FINANCE MINISTER DISCUSSES DEBT REPAYMENT

LD080910 Warsaw PAP in English 0816 GMT 8 Apr 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Apr (PAP) -- The primary motive which underlay the Polish delegation's actions connected with the Frankfurt agreement on rescheduling the payment of Poland's 1981 debt was the determination to "maintain normal trading, economic, and financial relations with Western countries," head of the Polish delegation, Poland's Finance Vice-Minister Witold Bien told ZYCIE WARSZAWY's correspondent in Bonn.

"Generally speaking, we want to pay off our debt on conditions to be agreed with our creditors so as to facilitate Poland's emergence from the crisis," Bien said. "And this, I think, is the target for both sides," he added.

"The talks on rescheduling the 1982 payments are still ahead of us. We reckon that also in this field, realism will take the upper hand and that the talks, now suspended, will be resumed," Bien added.

He described as fairly favourable the atmosphere which accompanied the talks in Frankfurt and voiced hope that such an atmosphere will also accompany further negotiations.

TRYBUNA LUDU REPORTS IDEOLOGY MEETING SPEECHES

Jaruzelski Address

AU071204 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3-4 Apr 82 p 1

[Text of speech by Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR first secretary, at the 2 April session of the ideological party conference in Warsaw: "Marxism-Leninism Is a Revolutionary Method of Transforming Reality"]

[Text] Dear comrades! In the name of the Politburo and the PZPR Central Committee Secretariat, I heartily welcome all participants of the first national ideological and theoretical conference. We attach great importance to this conference, which has been convened in accordance with the resolution of the fourth Central Committee plenum. It is the first event of such importance in the ideological life of the party in many years.

In this hall today are representatives of all the Marxist-Leninist centers of thought in Poland, as well as comrades representing the widely conceived party ideological front. Besides people of science and party aktivists, representatives of farmers and work forces of great industrial plants are taking part in this meeting.

There is no doubt that in such a well-represented and competent gathering, it will be possible to make a penetrating analysis of the current sociopolitical situation, delve deeply into the most important ideological problems, define the tasks facing us in this area, appraise the possibilities of fulfilling them and precisely establish the ways in which the party should emerge from its difficulties and the country from its crisis.

Values Once Again

Today's conference is an expression of the rebirth of our party's ideological front. Although it is taking place under martial law conditions, it is dealing not only with today's problems, but also those of the short-term and long-term future. Marxism-Leninism is the science and philosophy of today. It brings liberation, social justice, progress and peace. It was and is the nucleus of social revolutions. It is readable for the masses and for working people because it joins theory with practice.

In the past, we often used the idea "Marxism-Leninism" as a slogan, a facade with nothing behind it. A deep crack was appearing between theory and practice.

As a result, today we must rediscover Marxism-Leninism as if from the beginning, revealing its values and its attraction for working people and people of science. We have to make a powerful party weapon out of it in the continuing ideological battle. And this should be the main aim of this conference.

What has happened in Poland fully confirms the thesis that departing from the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism and at the same time the lack of a creative and responsible approach toward our own national conditions bring inevitable distortions and difficulties and that these difficulties are being eagerly exploited by internal and external opponents of socialism.

There Is No "Either-Or" Dilemma

Despite this, voices are often heard saying that we are not suffering from a shortage of theory and ideology today as much as from a shortage of goods and -- to use the conventional term -- bread.

This is not true! Here it is not a question of "either-or". We need one and the other. The bread shortage arose particularly as a result of voluntarism, and a neglect of ideological principles, which during the last dozen months and more was enhanced by demagogy and the ideology of social destruction — foreign to socialism and the vital interests of the Polish nation.

However, it would be a mistaken and harmful notion to think that we are starting our ideological and educative work from scratch. After all, many comrades have been acting energetically, creatively and in adherence to principles. Theoretical Marxist thought has a long and beautiful history in Poland and it also has contemporary achievements. It is inseparably connected with the origins of the revolutionary class workers movement, whose centenary we are celebrating this year. Polish Marxist thought has made an important contribution to the development of international socialist thought. We must return to these excellent traditions and answer the question which Stefan Zeromski asked at the beginning of the second republic: "Do you have the courage of Lenin?" True, this question is put differently and addressed to different people today, but it is still valid as an appeal to act and reach for the worthiest model for action. All activists in the party front, including our party intellectuals, must find this Lenin courage inside themselves today in order to answer the question: What were the main sources and causes of the weakness and misfortune in our ideological activity?

Why did the developed and built-up system of party training not blossom when faced with a moment of difficult trial?

Why did part of the party's theoretical base submit to the urge to make apologies so easily?

Why is a suitable contact between theory and practice and between science and life not functioning in the battle which is going on?

It is clear today that the political practice of previous months was to a large extent conducive to this state of affairs. First, fixed decisions were accepted, and then they were supplemented by theoretical justifications.

There was no demand for an honest analysis of the conflicts in the community and of the ways to solve them, which should have been a driving force.

Such ideas as criticism and self-criticism disappeared from the life of the party.

Basically speaking, the achievements of other socialist countries were ignored, and often even looked on with arrogance; there was no proper exploitation of the results of ideological cooperation and the sharing of experiences with our fraternal parties.

As we well know, the idea and theory which will grip the masses is becoming a material force. Mistakes and deformities have weakened the PZPR's ideological influence. As a result, political opponents have seized our socialist slogans and directed them against the party slogans such as struggles for social justice, for solidarity among the workers class, for democracy and for bringing up society in the spirit of patriotic traditions. It is essential to concentrate on revindicating these slogans and heeding them during theoretical activity, and above all on consistently implementing political practice in its entirety.

This activity will bear many of the characteristics of constitutional work of a fundamental nature, particularly concerning the ideological education of the young generation. Here, we must resolutely reach for the sources and classical principles of Marxism-Leninism, for the traditions and experiences of the Polish workers movement and for the entire constructive national tradition.

The conference should arouse theoretical thinking over the future development of socialist Poland.

As we all know, the Central Committee accepted a draft ideological and program declaration during its last meeting entitled "What We Are Fighting for and What Our Intentions Are." We regard this declaration as an important element in the rebirth of the PZPR as a Marxist-Leninist party and in the confirmation of its identity.

General party discussion is taking place about the contents of the declaration. The conference is also part of this discussion and has a higher theoretical value on account of its composition.

We should define our role and the degree to which we have built socialism more precisely. This is not an easy task, and it will be difficult to carry it out during this conference. But we cannot ignore this problem, for it is exceptionally important to our political practice.

Here I must stress the role of the movement behind the committees for national rebirth and the idea behind the front for national agreement. We do not wish to and we cannot examine these issues in line with the kind of simplified principle of moral and political unity that was propagated in past years. This must be a solution in the spirit of Leninism, demanding a deeper grasp of its essentials which unite the community, as well as a grasp of the interests, resources and slogans which divide certain branches of it. Only with such class awareness can we really establish an area of patriotic agreement based on the supreme aims serving People's Poland.

We Must Find Honest Answers to Many Questions

We must find thorough and honest answers to a range of important questions, making use of our experience in the ideological and political battle and the achievements of the basic social sciences, such as philosophy, sociology, political economics and political science. I can list a lot of these problems, for example: analysing our community's class structure and state of knowledge, implementing the principles of social justice and socialist humanitarianism, developing socialist democracy and other forms of internal party democracy, arousing and developing national awareness and the feeling of citizens responsibility for the affairs of the socialist state; the party's economic policy, activity by party organizations in industrial plants, the participation of the workers class in management, the social content of economic reform, the new phenomena appearing in the trade union and youth movements, social conflicts and discrepancies, ethical problems, including social pathology and petty bourgeois manifestations; examining and appraising public opinion and removing the irregularities which have arisen and the consequences of our misfortunes.

What Do We Expect From the Conference?

So what do we expect from the conference?

We expect it to play an important role under the present, new conditions in examining and giving new life to work aimed at laying down the tasks of the party and the entire ideological front in the following spheres of activity:

Renewing and strengthening people's faith in the ideals of socialism and providing the possibility of fully implementing these ideals on the principles of the party's program and political policy, by means of implementing the resolutions of the ninth congress;

Spreading knowledge about Marxist-Leninist theory and enabling people to carry out a class appraisal of the manifestations in social life as well as encouraging a creative approach toward the complex problems in the development of socialism;

Ideologically equipping the party to defend Marxism-Leninism effectively and waging ideological and political battle against the opponents of socialism and against imperialist subversion;

Shaping a modern political culture which would unite a knowledge of people's rights with a feeling of citizens' responsibility toward the state;

Forming scientific and historical knowledge, in which a respect for the patriotic behavior of past generations will coincide with an ability to learn from past experiences;

Raising the standard of economic knowledge, making the community aware of the connections between work efficiency and the standard of living of individuals and society as a whole and teaching people more about the laws and mechanisms behind socioeconomic development;

Making people respect efficient and well-organized work as a source of material prosperity and moral value and as a law and duty, as well as the criterion for appraising individuals;

Spreading the idea of internationalism which is closely connected with a deep grasp of the national and class raisons d'etre and propagating the feeling of solidarity with the socialist countries, with the Soviet Union, with the international workers and communist movement and with the battle by nations for independence and social liberation.

Having listed some of the problems facing up, I would like to bring my introductory speech to a close.

I wish all comrades a successful conference and valuable and creative work results.

Olszowski Report

AU071354 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3-4 Apr 82 p 3

["Theses" of the report delivered by Stefan Olszowski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, at the 2 April plenary session of the first PZPR ideological and theoretical conference in Warsaw]

[Text] We are building Socialist Poland under the conditions of the division of the world into two opposing systems, under the conditions of the bitter class struggle raging in the world, and of a sharp ideological confrontation which has many fronts, each of which is reflected in the internal class struggle.

The attempts to undermine and dismantle the socialist system which emerged after World War II have a long history. When the doctrine of "liberating" the socialist countries by kindling a civil war, initially advocated by American imperialism, proved to be a fiasco, it was replaced with the doctrine of "containing" socialism and of blocking its development. In the sixties, the concept of "building bridges," was advanced that is of using the processes of detente in international politics to restore ideological influences in the socialist countries. In the last few years imperialism has been staking again on confrontation, an open confrontation on all fronts.

In the course of global ideological and political confrontation, imperialist forces have for many years concentrated particular attention on our country because they found that Poland was the most susceptible to ideological and propaganda influence, in particular in view of possibly using its historical links with some Western countries, and of the vitality of the pro-Western orientation of a great part of society, combined with various myths, and of the particularly broad economic, scientific-technical and cultural contacts.

Of course, the antisocialist groups existing in Poland, even with the support of propaganda and agency activity, were incapable of disturbing social calm in the country. The political crisis was directly caused by the results of the striking errors that were committed for years in economic and social policy, arousing discontent in the workers class. However, it is also a fact that the worsening economic crisis and the crisis of confidence in the party and in the authorities were used by the internal counterrevolutionary forces to launch an offensive. It is also a fact that they launched that offensive in close cooperation with anti-communist centers abroad.

The socialist elements of social consciousness undoubtedly weakened, while the influences of bourgeois antisocialist ideology were revived. That was the outcome of the political and socioeconomic crisis, which was the gravest in the history of People's Poland, of the influence exerted by the internal antisocialist centers from the summer of 1980 to 13 December 1981, and of the ideological subversion conducted by imperialist centers.

The theory of the fifties that the class struggle intensified in step with the development of socialism was profoundly wrong and harmful. However, the other extreme, manifested in particular in the thesis about the complete extinction of the class struggle with the elimination of the antagonistic classes and with advances in socialist construction, was also wrong. The class ideological and political struggle continues as long as there are grounds for it in the layers of social consciousness inherited from the previous formations, and as long as it is inspired and backed from outside by imperialist forces and their subversion against socialism.

Irrespective of tactics, the opponents of socialism have always, at every stage of the struggle, counted mainly on reviving anti-Soviet moods. The practice of undermining relations with the Soviet Union and the anti-Soviet hysteria always unleashed by the most reactionary forces are not only an element of the struggle for reorienting political alliances; it is the struggle against socialism, an attack against the system.

The country's enormous debts resulted not only in the restriction of our economic independence, but also in concessions of an ideological character. Along with Western technology, we also "imported" the petit bourgeois way of life oriented toward consumption and the pursuit of material goods alone. Under the strong pressure of the capitalist world, the elements of the bourgeois system of values were expanding in our society.

The false thesis about the "moral and political unity of the Polish people," buttressed by the promises to turn the Polish People's Republic into an "all-national state," blurred the class evaluation of the system of social forces and harmoniously coexisted with the Christian ideology of class solidarity. As a consequence, this obscured the class essence of the interests of the workers class, detached us from the workers class, and resulted in the underestimation of the values accepted by that class.

Deviations from the principles of socialism, which involved the party and the mechanisms of socialist democracy, exerted a particular influence on the crisis in Poland. Those deviations were manifested in the violation of the Leninist norms of internal party life, and above all in the triumph of bureaucratic centralism over democratic centralism, in the restriction of democracy, and in the gradual elimination of self-governing systems and institutions.

The weakening of class elements in the internationalist education of society is to be regarded as a serious error committed in ideological activity in the seventies. It was a result of the elimination of those elements from the policy pursued by our state.

The struggle waged by the opponents of socialism brought about enormous deformations in social consciousness: Marxist theory and the fundamental principles of socialism were disavowed and the conviction was instilled that the history of People's Poland was an uninterrupted chain of crises foiling the people's efforts; in the endeavor to isolate the party from society, the leading party role in building socialism was disputed; the economic consciousness of the working people, and particularly the interpretation of internal independence, of the patterns and mechanisms determining the functioning of the economy, was distorted, and this made it possible to attack the nationalization of the production means; attempts were made to give nationalist substance to the notion of patriotism; and the national history was falsified under the slogan of "disclosing the truth."

The positions of the opponents of socialism were strongest among the intelligentsia who succumbed to the charms of class solidarity offering the intelligentsia the leading role of people's ideological inspirer and conscience. Their influence was also significant among the younger generation who, disappointed with the effects of our social policy and poorly prepared by its own life experience, was the most exposed to the ideological penetration of antisocialist forces.

The rebirth of the party connotes the return to Marxism-Leninism, the creative application of its principles, and the beginning of efforts on this basis aimed at socialist renewal under the present Polish conditions.

To revive the party, united ideologically and rallied in action, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and to consolidate its links with the working class, we must constantly strengthen its workers' character, must use in our whole activity the theory of Marxism-Leninism, and must absolutely observe in internal life the Leninist norms comprised in the principle of democratic centralism.

In view of the very grave damages and errors in our postwar history caused by the rejection in practice of the instructions of Marxism-Leninism either from the position of factionalism and dogmatism or from the position of opportunism, the rebirth of the party must signify our absolute dissociation from both those deformations.

The universal principles of socialist construction have always been put into practice in a specific historical context, under determinated national conditions. The Polish way to socialism does not deny, but on the contrary, under Polish conditions, it confirms the general patterns of building socialism.

The line of socialist renewal is irreversible. Its essence is that the Polish economy be sound, that is, based on the proper economic mechanisms; that Polish society be just, that is, both mindful about the protection of the living standards of the economically weakest groups, and guided by the criteria of labor value and contribution; and that the Polish state be law-abiding, that is, based on the observance of the rights and obligations both by the authorities and the citizens, and that it promote socialist democracy in every content and form.

The main body of the party is ideologically united, and the main current of its life is uniform. But at the periphery of that current there are phenomena that harm the party and debilitate it. Those are primarily opportunist and rightwing concepts which reject the class criteria in evaluating the situation and undermine Marxist views. Also harmful to the party are those who try to change its activity while acting behind its democratic structures and using the leftwing phraseology.

The party urgently needs to overcome the internal divisions and differences, to consolidate the ideological, political and organizational unity on the grounds of Marxism-Leninism and adhere to its principles and to proletarian internationalism.

The ideological front must provide conditions for building a national accord with the participation of all patriotic forces not opposing socialism, respecting the Constitution, and willing to play a constructive part in creating a better future for the people and the state. The worker-peasant alliance and the party's partner-like cooperation with the other political parties continues to provide the foundation for a national accord.

We must isolate and discredit the political adversary by unmasking his true face, his connections with centers abroad, his intentions contradicting the interests of the Polish working classes and the general national interests. At the same time, we must take long-term actions to refute myths created by the adversary's subversive propaganda with regard to the most recent history, to prove the falsity of the thesis that socialism is inapplicable under Polish conditions, and to remove deformations from economic and political consciousness.

Today it is imperative more than ever to work out a concise and modern concept of Marxist-Leninist education, taking into account the peculiarities of individual social groups and showing Poland's development prospects by means of positively highlighting socialism.

Party scientific establishments must concentrate to analyze the present stage in the development of scoialist society in Poland, to examine why the party in practice deviated from the Marxist-Leninist theory and ideology, to expand research into the problems of socialist democracy and of the leading role played by the party within it, and to closely study the history of the Polish workers movement and Poland's most recent history.

Kubiak 'Theses'

AU071819 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3-4 Apr 82 p 3

["Theses" of report delivered by Hieronim Kubiak, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, at the 2 April session of the first PZPR ideological and theoretical conference in Warsaw]

[Text] In the sphere of culture, the humaneness of militant Marxism is manifested in the conscious ideological option in favor of the interests of the workers class regarded not as an object of charitable activity by professionals creating culture, but as its independent and creative subject.

The intelligentsia can only carry out its mission through its link with the workers class as the leader at the present stage of the Polish historical process.

Ideological inspiration in culture and science primarily signifies: formulating goals for social development; specifying ideological values; indicating problems of particular importance for the implementation of socialist goals, but also calling for inquiries and discussion; and promoting achievements consistent with the socialist orientation in culture and science.

The party favors a mindful attitude toward the entire national cultural heritage, and favors the variety and multiplicity of content and forms in present-day creativity. Our support is only limited by the criteria of truthfulness (opposing falsehood), of humaneness (opposing all forms of man's humiliation), of progress (opposing reaction), and of internationalism (opposing chauvinism).

Adherence to the fundamental principles and values of Marxism, and at the same time a critical attitude to the present day, to internal party life and to the way the party performs its leading role in society, combined together, provide a basis for our ideological offer in culture and science. It is our desire that Marxism, open to reality, creative and authentic, permeate Polish culture and science.

Party organizations acting in scientific and creative circles must make long-term efforts to develop the Marxist theory of culture and art criticism, to advocate and spread Marxism among people creating culture and science.

The party exerts ideological inspiration through its program and through the activity and personal prestige of party-affiliated scientists and creators of culture. However, to implement the party program, we must also find allies beyond our circle, must restore the front of the Polish intellectual and artistic left wing.

The struggle for the ideological role of social science will be settled in the plane of cognition in which a decisive role belongs to the efforts to raise the level of science, to foster its critical attitude to itself, to overcome any theoretical, methodological and subject taboo, and to take up problems of importance for the broad practice; and in the plans of dissemination, which calls for militancy in the struggle for socialist values and for opposing any form of ideological capitulation.

Intellectual and cultural development consists not in the infallibility of all subsequent solutions, but in continuous cognitive restlessness, in the verification of information already possessed, and in the constant movement toward the truth. It calls for the pursuit of a policy encouraging intellectual and artistic quest.

Orzechowski Speech

AU071115 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Apr 82 p 3

[Theses of the report read by PZPR Central Committee Secretary Marian Orzechowski to the 2 April Warsaw session of the PZPR national ideological-theoretical conference: "Historical Consciousness as a Plane of Ideological and Political Struggle"]

[Text] -- Society's historical consciousness has become a plane of the most acute ideological struggle. This consciousness expresses a sense of national identity and one's own place and role in the universal process of history, accumulates the knowledge handed down from generation to generation about one's own participation in the process of development and motivates the ways by which social reality and the models of collective activities are evaluated.

-- The historical consciousness of present Polish society is a result of a long-lasting influence of various institutional and ideopolitical factors, the family environment, schools, the mass media, the church as well as political and educational organizations. In every generation the influence which is more or less a planned and purposeful influence clashes with the developed -- and differentiated in the individual classes and sections of society -- state of historical knowledge and consciousness, educational standards and the nature of political culture, which may be functional or nonfunctional vis-a-vis the existing political system.

-- Historical consciousness, as well as its contents and ideological and political color, has always been a plane of the political and ideological struggle between the occupying powers and Polish society and between various classes, movements and parties. This struggle would as a rule aggravate in the situations of political crises and would then become one of the planes of the battles for power and for the lines of society's and the state's development. Beginning with 1944, historical consciousness has been a constant object of the struggle between the forces of socialism and revolution and the forces of anticommunism and counterrevolution.

-- Deformations, errors and neglect on our part -- an instrumental approach to the past and the expediency of the evaluation of the facts, manifestations, movements and persons -- have asserted themselves with special force in the sphere of historical consciousness and in the process of its development. This has produced many "blank spots," "areas of silence," equivocations, half-truths and so on in the picture of the past as reconstructed by historical science and as propagated by the system of education. We should bear in mind that areas of ignorance of our national past always favor large-scale manipulations with emotions, sentiments and resentments.

-- Two postulates have become the fundamental premises and directional bearings of the struggle against socialism in historical consciousness: "Whitewashing national history" for the sake of "historical truth" and freeing the teaching of history -- in the same way as the teaching of other humanities -- from "political indoctrination" and "monopoly of Marxism." The attack against socialism and the party-- the approach to and the evaluation of the past were subordinated to this attack -- has brought about the situation in which history has become a "policy which looks back into the past." It was no accident that the confederation for independent Poland presented itself to society as "another relay in the long parade of generations" and appropriated for itself the exclusive right to the traditions of national uprisings, "enriching" them with the traditions of the armed reactionary underground that existed in the first years of People's Poland. It included the national armed forces [NSZ] in this underground.

-- The ideopolitical and psychological functions of the image of People's Poland as created by the adversaries of socialism helped consolidate in common consciousness the contrast between "independent, democratic and sovereign Poland" and "enslaved" Poland, provided historical arguments to justify the need to fight the system that helped "enslave" the nation and its state and argued in favor of the myth that Solidarity and the antisocialist forces embodied and organized the struggle against the "imposed system."

-- The caricatured image of People's Poland went hand in hand with the often exploited image of the history of the Marxist-Leninist stream of the Polish workers movement. The basic structural aspect of that image was the thesis that the Polish workers movement had been inspired by non-Polish elements, that it was antinational and that its theories were culturally alien. Polish-Russian and Polish-Soviet relations became areas of a particular propaganda penetration promoted by the antisocialist forces. The chief assumption in this connection was the nonhistorical, nonclass and nationalist theses purporting to prove that the Polish policy of Russia, Soviet Russia and the Soviet Union had always existed and had never changed.

-- The activities of the antisocialist forces was not only an attempt to provide a new interpretation of our national history, to change the canons of our national traditions and to develop functional historical consciousness vis-a-vis Solidarity's aims and tasks, but also amounted to a change in methodological orientation, to the total rejection of the achievements of Marxism-Leninism in interpreting the process of history and to an acceptance of bourgeois methodological electicism.

-- At the present moment it is difficult -- without the help of at least a sample research -- to exactly determine what profound and enduring traces the activities of the antisocialist forces have left in the historical consciousness of society and its individual classes, sections and groups. Hypothetically we can assume that those activities have wrought the greatest damage in the consciousness of young people and some groups of the intelligentsia (including teachers). They have also relied on the myths and legends in circulation, have consolidated and reinforced them with new arguments, and have created new myths, especially those concerning Solidarity and Walesa.

-- Society's education in history should include efforts to make good the present damage and ravages and to develop a scientific and rational interpretation of the past. We must respond to the awakened and constantly manifested curiosity of society and, especially, young people. This curiosity continues to be one-sided and often deformed, but it is all the same a point of departure for developing a modern historical consciousness, which is based on the achievements of science, which helps the individual and groups to enrich their spiritual worlds and which is functional vis-a-vis the ideals and aims of socialism. Emphasizing a number of issues such as the history of People's Poland, the Second Republic, the workers movement and Poland's role and place among its neighbors seems an essential task.

-- Only the truth about the past may become an effective and indispensable component part of socialist social consciousness and prosocialist civic attitudes. That is why it would be an unforgivable error to skimp the education in history, to curb its expedient arguments and to resort to sentiments, resentments, national megalomania or inferiority complexes.

-- We should treat the past in a comprehensive and synthetic manner and not in a fragmentary and selective manner, but, at the same time, we should take into consideration the sociopolitical experience of the past few years, which compels us to take a more profound view of many key controversial facts, manifestations, processes and periods of our national history -- facts that are overgrown with myths and legends.

-- Didacticism, lip-service and the show-off application of Marxist methodology and terminology, which were so rife in the past, just led one into a blind alley. Respect for specific facts of history in all their complexity and general education in history must above all develop the skill to understand the mechanisms of history and the laws revealed in them because the knowledge and the correct interpretation of these laws not only help to create an orderly knowledge of the past, but also make it possible to consciously shape the present and the future.

Glowczyk Address

AU080706 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Apr 82 pp 3, 4

[Report on theses presented by PZPR Politburo candidate member Jan Glowczyk to the 2 April Warsaw session of the PZPR national ideological-theoretical conference: "Social Problems of Economic Reform"]

[Text] Our party's ideology amounts to a system of values and aims which helps to lift the class of exploited hired laborers, deprived of their own means of production and of the political and economic influence on the way in which the results of their toil are utilized -- to lift them from the position of those who are exploited through production to the position of those who run the economy and administer the means of production.

-- The shift from capitalism to socialism cannot be achieved by a single operation. This shift amounts to a struggle against the class adversary and to overcoming the distortions in socialist construction. The Ninth PZPR Congress decided that the implementation of the economic reform, in line with the basic principles of the socialist socioeconomic system, is a condition for overcoming the crisis and creating the foundations of Poland's development. This implementation must be completed as soon as possible.

-- The conditions for implementing the economic reform violently deteriorated last fall. The trend toward decreasing industrial production, which was additionally obstructed by Solidarity strikes, continued to gain in strength. The growing anarchy of social life continued to increasingly hinder the rationalization of economic tasks.

-- The people usually associate the present curbs imposed on economic reform and the suspension of the workers' self-government groups with martial law, without realizing that the reasons for the curbs are rooted in the situation that preceded the state of martial law. If martial law had not been introduced we would never have had any chance to implement the economic reform.

-- We are implementing the economic reform at the economically most difficult time and under the conditions of lower production and living standards. We are implementing it in the awareness that the reform will solve none of our problems "by itself" -- without hard work and disciplined production. The people may think that the reform is responsible for our present hardships that actually are the products of the policy of the seventies and of the economic anarchy last year. This is not the first time that society has misplaced, in terms of time, the reasons for economic difficulties.

-- It is necessary to fight for economic reform with the help of political means -- not only before its implementation, but also and perhaps above all after it has been implemented. To fight means not only to defend agreed principles, but also to correct them without mercy and without excessive haste -- as social life demands.

-- Constitutional premises demand that the economic reform should help strengthen the social ownership of production means, effectively adjust the structure of production to the hierarchy of social needs, reconcile by central planning the interests of individuals, groups and classes with the interest of society, observe the distribution of products in line with the quantity and quality of work, and ensure social security for all the working people and the main opportunities for young people.

-- The basic aim of economic reform is to increase the ability of the economy to meet society's most urgent -- that is, fundamental -- needs. The principal condition for the reform's success is to change the relationship between central and local authorities, and develop true workers, territorial and cooperative self-management, which will make it possible to effectively increase the role of central planning in formulating the strategy of the country's socioeconomic development.

-- The union between the economic reform and the main social aims of the economy can be achieved by expedient planning. This method is close to our present operational plans, but, in contrast to them, it is not an ad hoc method which is dictated by an extraordinary situation and by shortages of resources, and is not based on rigid coercion and command. This method stems from decentralization and from enterprises' independence. Given an enormous strategic role of central planning, this method makes it possible to determine the hierarchy of social aims in the process of socialized planning, and to choose the most important aims from among many.

-- The choice of social aims of the economy is a complicated task because there are never enough resources to cope with all such aims. This choice is always political and calls for determining which of the important aims are the most important in a given situation. It is impossible to make this choice arbitrarily. It is necessary to consult society and listen to its views, but one must be aware of the fact that such views will be differentiated.

-- Although social interests generally converge, they remain differentiated in line with the classes, sections and groups as well as within these classes, sections and groups.

-- The economic reform bestows priority on the incentives that are directly material incentives. Socialism presupposes a direct link between incomes and the share of work, and makes participation in the results of production dependent on work. However, we are not a society which subordinates the entire life of the individual to the results of his work. It is also a task for socialism to even out the opportunities for the people who begin their professional lives, to level off the differences of origins and family differences, and to create universal social security.

-- Despite this, economic matters are party matters, which has often been said and is still sometimes said. Politics, the party's domain, is the shaping of relations among classes and social strata and groups, and taking into consideration their various interests and the mutual conditions behind these interests. And class and group interests appear in the form of economic interests.

-- An economic affair will be a real cause of human activity and will arouse people into social activity. The aims resulting from these interests are varied, in the socialist system as well. There can be and will be discrepancies between them, and even conflicts.

-- Economic reform cannot be without conflicts because it is not indifferent to economic interests. Economic interests cover not only wages and material stimuli, but also the position which people, groups and classes occupy in the system of social relations in production.

-- There is nothing more political than economic decisions. So the party cannot avoid being involved with the economy, since it would then stop being involved in politics. In other words, it would cease to be a party.

-- The party's activity in the economy cannot have anything to do with meddling in concrete mechanisms, organizational structures and so on. It was the party's great mistake that it disturbed the normal division of roles, depriving administration of its self-dependence and responsibility, and itself of what it is supposed to be involved in.

-- The party's task is to anticipate and analyze the social and political consequences of economic activity for the shaping of relations among economic, class and sectional interests in society as a whole on the one hand, and among individual and closely-knit group interests in industrial plants on the other hand. In this way, an "early warning mechanism" against measures which violate the interests of the classes and large social groups, particularly of the workers class, is being formed.

-- An "early warning mechanism" even one which allows a certain leeway, is all the more essential because there is no automatic chronological synchronization between economic policy and social policy. The division of roles between the party and the economic apparatus is based on the fact that it is the economic apparatus' duty to be guided by cost effectiveness, efficiency, gain and economy, whereas the party, from the bottom to the top, recognizing this cost effectiveness, must first and foremost bring about the social and therefore political consequences of the economic decisions.

-- The party should represent the social interests of everyone in the economy. This is very difficult in practice and very complicated. It demands an excellent knowledge of social reality and real and deep involvement in it; not in order to bow before it, but in order to know exactly what it is like. For only then, applying scientific theory and methods, is it possible to influence this reality to the extent possible.

-- The difference between what has to be objectively counted on and what can really be influenced does not generally seem great, and often goes completely unnoticed. In fact, it is a great expanse in social life, and it is on this expanse that the party is waging battle.

Olszowski Summarizes Work

AU071632 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Apr 82 p 2

[Report on speech by Stefan Olszowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, to wind up the PZPR national ideological-theoretical conference in Warsaw on 3 April -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] S. OLSZOWSKI SAID, AMONG OTHER THINGS, THAT THE PZPR IDEOLOGICAL-THEORETICAL CONFERENCE HAD AN EXTENSIVE REPRESENTATION FROM THE IDEOLOGICAL-POLITICAL AKTIVS, AND THAT TO A GREAT EXTENT IT HAD EXPRESSED THE MOST IMPORTANT IDEOLOGICAL MANIFESTATIONS OF PARTY LIFE. EIGHT REPORTS WERE PREPARED FOR THE PLENARY SESSION AND 16 FOR THE SESSIONS IN INDIVIDUAL SECTIONS. THE DISCUSSION WAS SUPPORTED BY 86 PEOPLE, AND 10 PEOPLE INCLUDED THEIR SPEECHES IN THE CONFERENCE MINUTES.

The conference was an important occasion to exchange ideas and thoughts with the party's leadership and leading aktivs, including the ideological front aktivs, as well as with representatives of scientific communities. These ideas and thoughts concerned the most important sociopolitical and ideological issues now facing the party and society.

In particular the conference helped to enrich the analysis of the country's situation of the past few years and months, and to intensify the Marxist interpretation of the current political and ideological problems in the sphere of theory and practice.

Those problems include above all the issues of conflict and unity in Poland's economic, political and ideological life, mainly at the turn of the eighties. The conference revealed to a greater extent the mutual relationship between economic-political practice and the party's ideological activity, and defined more exactly the political conditions for overcoming contradictions and creating society's unity in socialism and for setting up new foundations of national agreement.

The issue of the PZPR's leading role in the state and society is also among those problems. THE CONFERENCE STRESSED THE PARTY'S FUNDAMENTAL TASKS VIS-A-VIS THE PEOPLE AND ITS DUTY TO DEFEND SOCIALISM AGAINST ITS ADVERSARIES, TO DEVELOP THE SOCIOPOLITICAL SYSTEM IN THE SPIRIT OF SOCIALISM AND TO INCREASE EFFECTIVENESS IN SOLVING IMPORTANT SOCIOECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN THE INTEREST OF THE WORKERS CLASS AND ITS ALLIES.

The problems of the party's ideological unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and of its political strength and organizational cohesion are an important issue. Equally important are the socialist comprehension and implementation of basic ideological-political values such as social justice, socialist democracy, egalitarianism and dignity of work, which are the basic conditions for social success and for the development of individual personality.

THE CONFERENCE, S. OLSZOWSKI STRESSED, HAS PRODUCED THEORETICAL IDEAS ABOUT THE COUNTRY'S FUTURE, AND HAS FORMULATED A NUMBER OF PROPOSALS ON THE PARTY'S BASIC TASKS AND ACTION METHODS WHICH SHOULD GUARANTEE THE CORRECT DEVELOPMENT OF OUR COUNTRY'S FUTURE BY THE PZPR. THE CONFERENCE DEVOTED MUCH TIME ESPECIALLY TO DETERMINING THE PRESENT AND LONG-TERM TASKS OF THE IDEOLOGICAL FRONT, ESPECIALLY IN THE SPHERE OF FOSTERING HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS, POLITICAL CULTURE AND ECONOMIC EDUCATION.

The conference formulated a number of proposals on enriching and improving the arsenal of instruments of propaganda work, its methods, resources, language and so on.

The conference stressed especially strongly the need for a resolute struggle against the ideological adversary's influence, above all that exerted on the young generation. The conference has helped to ideologically equip the party for an effective defense of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

I think, S. Olszowski continued, that it is possible to assert in conclusion that our intensive 2-day work was an important stride along the road to ideologically strengthening the party on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory. This was our overriding aim and the basis of the programmatic principles of the first national ideological-theoretical conference.

S. OLSZOWSKI SAID THAT DURING THE CONFERENCE SOMEONE PROPOSED TO HOLD SUCH MEETINGS EVERY 2 YEARS, AND MORE OFTEN IF NECESSARY. THIS PROPOSAL WILL BE SUBMITTED TO THE PARTY LEADERSHIP BECAUSE THE PROPOSAL IS FOR CONVENING SUCH CONFERENCES FROM TIME TO TIME.

We will no doubt propagate the main features of this conference -- both the reports and the speeches from the floor -- in NOWE DROGI and in other party publications, and in the form of separate books and brochures. We must also print a publication with a synthetic presentation of the results of the conference and all its proposals. S. Olszowski expressed the conviction that those proposals will be used in current and long-term ideological, propaganda and political activity, and will be reflected in ad hoc plans for propaganda work and in the long-term program for the party's ideological activity, which is being drawn up. The postulate that the system and program of ideological training should be approved by the appropriate Central Committee bodies also deserve attention.

S. Olszowski drew attention to the fact that the problems raised at the conference should be taken into account in the current and long-term research programs in the centers of social sciences, especially in the institutions of the party's theoretical base. Some problems should be tackled at the regional ideological conferences, because this will create opportunities for more intensively investigating these problems and for invigorating and tightening the cooperation between ideological aktivs and the social science units in individual centers.

S. OLSZOWSKI EXPRESSED HIS THANKS TO THE AUTHORS OF THE REPORTS WHO SPOKE AT THE PLENARY SESSION AND THE PROBLEM SESSIONS, AND TO ALL SPEAKERS FROM THE FLOOR.

OUR CONFERENCE, HE SAID, WAS GIVEN LUSTER BY THE INTRODUCTORY SPEECH MADE BY PZPR FIRST SECRETARY GENERAL W. JARUZELSKI. WE OWE HIM OUR CORDIAL GREETINGS FOR THAT.

IN CONCLUSION S. OLSZOWSKI ONCE AGAIN THANKED ALL PARTICIPANTS AND ORGANIZERS OF THE CONFERENCE FOR THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE EFFECTIVE AND FRUITFUL DEBATES OF THE 2 DAY CONFERENCE.

BARCIKOWSKI MEETS WITH YOUTH GROUP LEADERS

LD071356 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1100 GMT 7 Apr 82

[Text] A meeting between Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, and leaderships of youth organizations has begun in the party Central Committee. The state and procedure of preparations for the party Central Committee plenary session, which will be devoted to issues pertaining to the young generation, are being discussed. Members of the following presidiums are taking part: the Central Board of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth, the National Board of the Union of Rural Youth, the Supreme Council of the Union of Polish Scouts and the Supreme Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students.

Kazimierz Barcikowski opened the meeting and Stanislaw Gabrielski, head of the Socio-political Department of the party Central Committee, delivered a report on the practical forms of preparations for the ninth plenum.

Barcikowski Speech

LD072004 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 7 Apr 82

[Excerpts] The current problems of the young generation and the activity of youth organizations was discussed today at the Central Committee, during a meeting between Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member, Central Committee secretary and leaders of youth organizations.

Kazimierz Barcikowski took the floor at the end of the meeting. He stressed that the meeting helped to further enrich the materials and documents being prepared for the Central Committee plenum. The Central Committee secretary also tackled, in the context of the economic reform, several problems of particular interest to young people, among others employment issues. In his opinion an equally important issue in the work of youth organizations should be ideological activity. There should be a deeper definition of ideological activity, protecting young people against taking a road against Poland, against socialism. Concluding, Kazimierz Barcikowski expressed the conviction that all youth organizations are profoundly interested in the results of decisions of the Central Committee youth plenum. This must not, however, signify a sort of magic faith in the Central Committee plenum settling all problems. It is immensely important how the Central Committee decisions are put into practice.

ORZECHOWSKI SPEAKS AT SOCIAL MEETING ON CRISIS

LD072300 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 7 Apr 82

[Text] Historic and economic education are the mainstreams of activities of the Society for Popularization of Knowledge for the near future. The program of popularizing knowledge of history and economics was discussed today at a session of the presidium of the main board of the society. Issues connected with current sociopolitical conditions and with the economic situation were matters of particular interest.

Prof Marian Orzechowski, secretary of the party Central Committee, participated in the meeting. In his speech he emphasized the significance of tasks being undertaken by the Society for Popularization of Knowledge. At the same time, he stated that the crisis which is being experienced at present is above all a crisis in the way of thinking in stereotypes, and dividing matters of politics and economics.

The period between August and December last year deepened this way of thinking. Marian Orzechowski expressed the opinion that although the economic crisis will be overcome and stabilization of the economy will be achieved within the next 2 or 3 years, overcoming the crisis of consciousness will take much longer. This is being taken into account in the activities of the party and the two problems are being examined jointly.

MESSNER URGES DISCUSSION ON IDEOLOGICAL DOCUMENT

LD080342 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 7 Apr 82

[Text] The current situation in party organizations and as assessment of the course to date of the discussion on the draft party ideological-programmatic declaration, "What Are We Fighting For; What Are We Aiming At?", were the topic of the first part of a plenary session of the party urban committee in Sosnowiec. The second part of the session will take place halfway through May.

Zbigniew Messner pointed out the enormous significance of a genuine, and not a sham, discussion on the draft declaration. He stated that every party member should have an exact knowledge of the text of this draft document. After the final editing, it will be binding on all PZPR members. That is why it is so important for there not to be silent people in the party and for every member to enrich the declaration with his [word indistinct] suggestions, comments and proposals.

DEPUTY PREMIER OBODOWSKI ON ANTICRISIS STAFF

LD071608 Warsaw PAP in English 1427 GMT 7 Apr 82

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Apr (PAP) -- The anti-crisis staff was founded in August 1981 to limit and cushion effects of crisis through moves ordering definite actions and prohibiting others and overseeing the situation and the effects of its decisions.

The steps taken in this direction were strictly correlated with the government's emergency work programme and resulted from that programme. Formally, the staff operated within the framework of the Council of Ministers' Economic Committee entrusted with wider long-term tasks, Deputy Premier Janusz Obodowski has told a PAP reporter.

Upon declaration of martial law in Poland it became necessary to reinforce a uniform directive-center which could steer the national economy on a day-to-day basis, and this is how the Council of Ministers' Economic Committee came into being.

Progressive anarchisation and disorganization of social and economic life posed a deadly threat to efforts launched to assure the society of the minimum essential means to survive the winter and an acute supplies crisis. If this process had not been halted, the entire effort would have proved ineffective. This is why the decision of December 13 to declare martial law was decisive for the fate of the economy and the society, said Vice Premier Obodowski.

The decisions of the operational anti-crisis staff aimed at giving up what in crisis conditions can be termed superfluous in favour of things that are essential. For example, when coal extraction collapsed in 1981 the price for it had to be paid one way or another. The only question could be that of "currency" in which to pay for the loss. The decision taken was to cut coal exports and close down part of the enterprises which constitutes large amounts of energy while [words indistinct].

It has been stated recently that there really was no apocalypse in the winter although earlier the threat was very real that thousands of persons would not survive the winter, epidemics would break out and spread because of lack of medicines and people would be freezing in long queues to buy the bare essentials. All that could well have taken place. We have decided that we could not afford to pay such a price. This is why the last remaining dollars were allocated by the government for purchases of grain, meat and medicines instead of for industrial raw materials and components. We often deliberately halted production in certain plants.

The basic considerations that guided the activity of the anti-crisis staff were concentration on the most crucial matters, observance of the principle that nation-wide interest must be above particular interests, concreteness of decision and checking on their execution. The basic task then was to survive the winter and arrest the mounting process of economic decline. Today, the aim is to raise the effectiveness of the economy. I stress the term "effectiveness of the economy," for otherwise we are going to walk barefoot, grumble about high prices and low pay which, after [words indistinct] only a reflection of social work productivity, said Vice-Premier Obodowski.

CONSULTATIVE ECONOMIC COUNCIL ESTABLISHED

LD080856 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 7 Apr 82

[Excerpts] The Council of Ministers has adopted a resolution on setting up a consultative economic council. The eminent Polish economist Czeslaw Bobrowski has been appointed chairman of the council. At his proposal, the chairman of the Council of Ministers has appointed 26 members to the council.

NEW ECONOMIC INSTITUTE HEAD DESCRIBES WORK

LD071552 Warsaw PAP in English 1402 GMT 7 Apr 82

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Apr (PAP) -- The Institute of National Economy has been set up recently as a result of the merger of the [word indistinct] Institute and the Institute of World Economy. It is a modern scientific centre put at the disposal of decision makers, especially the government Planning Commission.

The institute's director, Professor Marian Ostrowski, has told a PAP reporter that the institute conducted analyses of the economic situation, as well as strategic studies of Poland's socio-economic development laying special emphasis on social policy, export-oriented development of the economy and conditions responsible for market equilibrium.

Moreover, the institute is concerned with research of outside conditions affecting Poland's economic development, analyses of directions determining development of world economy, as well as studies of the possibilities of deepening socialist integration.

At the same time, continued Professor Ostrowski, we are participating in preparations of an updated version of the anti-crisis programme, work on structural changes in the economy and conditions underlying implementation of the economic reform. We also cooperate with the Planning Commission in working out the economic prognosis for the 1980s. We shall also participate in the drafting of the 5-year plan and the long-term plan for the 1980s.

On the other hand, we are also conducting detailed concrete research relating to implementation of the economic reform, said Professor Ostrowski.

TRYBUNA LUDU ON AGRICULTURE AND FOOD ECONOMY

LD071600 Warsaw PAP in English 1413 GMT 7 Apr 82

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Apr (PAP) -- Noting that the thesis "Poland can feed herself" has been replaced recently by "Poland must feed herself," TRYBUNA LUDU wrote today that this is one of the conditions of political sovereignty and the way to prevent painful economic blackmail.

"Between 1974 and 1980 the consumption of meat increased by 20 kgs per capita" but "practically, every third kilogram of meat was a hard currency commodity," the daily said emphasizing that one third of Poland's debts in the West is due to the deficit in agricultural produce and food turnovers.

The daily pointed out further that the thesis about Poland having to feed herself meant the necessity to cut down for some time the annual meat consumption of 70 kgs by 10 to 15 kgs. Analyzing the methods which could guarantee Poland self-sufficiency in food production, TRYBUNA LUDU pointed firstly, to elimination of waste in the various stages of that production -- beginning from industries which manufacture farm machinery, through organization of harvests, to transport, storage and processing of agricultural produce. The daily put the losses which can be eliminated at about 15-30 percent.

Secondly, the daily said, Poland needs essential investments at limited outlays, such as irrigation and drainage systems. This should allow Poland to curb her imports of grains and fodders from last year's 7.5 million tonnes to 2.5 millions tonnes in 1985, and to finance these purchases from the money earned by agricultural exports.

FORMER KONIN PZPR PARTY OFFICIALS ON TRIAL

LD072324 Warsaw PAP in English 2045 GMT 7 Apr 82

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Apr (PAP) -- Two former party officials of Konin went on trial today before the voivodship (provincial) court in Poznan for abuse of authority. Former PUWP CC 1st secretary in Konin, [name indistinct] and former Konin PUWP CC Economic Secretary Jozef S. are charged with abusing their posts to embezzle state money for the construction of private villas. Their accomplices, including a former [word indistinct] of a local enterprise, an ex-director of lignite mine and former city and rural commune governor, also stand trial on charges of harming the social weal by helping the two former official in the construction of villas.

PLENUM VIEWS LAW AND ORDER IN GDANSK VOIVODSHIP

PM051601 Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 15 Mar 82 p 3

[Apparent text of report delivered by Col Jerzy Andrzejewski, commander of Citizens' Militia in Gdansk Voivodship, at Gdansk PZPR Voivodship Committee Plenum: "State of Public Safety and Law and Order" -- date of plenum not specified]

[Text] Comrades: The following statements, among others, were included in the assessment of the state of public safety and law and order which was submitted to the PZPR voivodship committee executive in September 1981:

There can be no doubt that we are faced with an open and determined attack by antisocialist forces and an overt struggle for power;

Overt counterrevolution is increasingly obviously becoming an element of present-day reality;

The class enemy's activities have greatly been intensified and this is why it is necessary to expose and unmask him before party and public opinion and to take specific steps in the struggle waged against him;

The consultations held during the first national congress of Solidarity representatives has clearly shown that that union has embarked on the path of repudiating our country's socialist system;

It is in our voivodship that many "historical" leaders of a now-overt political opposition began and are continuing their activities;

It is here that it was decided to create the Young Poland Movement [RMP] and it is here that its most energetic conceptional center, whose members held decidedly antisocialist views, has been active;

The highly energetic Committee for the Defense of Prisoners of Conscience [KOWZP] has been active in Gdansk;

It is in Gdansk that the 3 May Constitution Political Thought Club, which aspires to the role of a leading center on a national scale, was formed. Its promoters and founders hold openly nationalistic and anti-Soviet views which are at many points convergent with those of the Confederation for an Independent Poland;

Such decidedly hostile groups as KOR [Worker's Defense Committee], RMP and KOWZP have been pursuing their activities with Solidarity's support, availing themselves of that trade union's material and technical facilities as well as of its premises, printing equipment and communications network, while some of their leading activists have been officially employed by Solidarity;

Since the main Solidarity executive body has its premises in Gdansk, representatives of capitalist countries have become especially interested in our voivodship;

The number of visits by diplomats from capitalist countries has considerably increased. Those diplomats have been in contact with leading Solidarity activists and have been gathering information about the trade union's internal situation as well as the general situation in the voivodship, market supplies, the atmosphere prevailing among social groups, the economic potential and the features of the political, administrative and economic leadership.

We have had to contend with a big influx of representatives of the Western media (press, radio and television journalists and correspondents, radio and television crews and so forth) who, like the diplomats, have been showing many-sided interest in our sociopolitical life, the socioeconomic situation and public feeling, while some of them have been engaged in intelligence activities in the region;

Among the foreigners visiting the region we have noticed an increasing number -- compared with last year -- of people especially well qualified to engage in intelligence activities (professional soldiers, policemen, state officials, journalists posing as tourists and so forth);

An increasing number of representatives of Western trade unions have been in touch with the main Solidarity agencies, transplanting sociopolitical ideas and concepts alien to us to the trade union's ground and supplying technical materials as well as materially helping the trade union in other ways;

It should be emphasized that the above-mentioned phenomena represent a very serious threat to state and official secrets because we can observe a general weakening of vigilance among the community and a willful defiance of regulations (for instance, gathering information about movements of Polish Army units and even transmitting such information abroad);

The number of people refusing to return to the country has increased, and there is a connection between this and a number of phenomena which have diminished our country's prestige and which have been responsible for an unfriendly attitude toward our nationals on the part of the authorities concerned;

Because of violations of regulations in force in host countries, mendacity and instances where people engaged in work illegally, 41 citizens from our voivodship have been deported back to Poland in the course of 8 months;

Social discipline has been deliberately weakened by spreading anarchy in all spheres of public life. Among other things, the Citizens' Militia and the security service have been prevented from upholding law and order. Being aware of the stance adopted by our apparatus, our adversaries have unleashed a comprehensive offensive with a view to isolating it from society, breaking it up internally and preventing it from acting effectively;

As a result of anarchy, social unrest, violations of the law and disintegration of social discipline, criminal elements, hooligans, parasites and so forth have considerably intensified their activities. Offenses against citizens' health and lives and burglaries carried out in a brutal manner, showing considerable impudence and aggressiveness on the part of their perpetrators, pose a considerable threat to society.

During 1981 a record number of inquiries and investigations were carried out in Gdansk Voivodship. Compared with 1980, the growth indicator amounts to 167.8 percent. When determining tasks for the security apparatus and the administration of justice on the basis of the above assessment of the situation, we reached the conclusion that the voivodship party organization must involve all patriotic social forces and party organizations, as well as all the available propaganda and educational means, in its activities on this broad and difficult front in order to take the most effective and efficacious counter-action possible. These are some of the statements included in the assessment submitted to the PZPR voivodship committee executive in September 1981. In the light of the resolutions adopted by the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum, the facts, phenomena and assessments included in it determine some specific tasks with respect to current party, social, state and economic activities.

Comrades:

The main objectives which were to be achieved as a result of the introduction of martial law are being gradually and consistently implemented. A hard blow has been dealt to the counterrevolutionary forces centers which were engaged in strenuous activities. We are no longer faced with the nightmare of strikes which are ruinous to the national economy. Acts of physical and psychological terror have been eliminated. A feeling of safety has continually been growing among the citizens, for whom preconditions for peaceful work have been ensured. The state of law and order has also been continuously improving.

The introduction of martial law has checked delinquency which grew during the previous period. I refer to such categories of offenses as robbery, which decreased 77.3 percent in February compared with November last year, burglaries from public buildings, whose number decreased 65.7 percent, and burglaries of private buildings, which decreased 57.8 percent.

The progress of events since 13 December has shown what limited support Solidarity's extremist leaders enjoyed. A considerable proportion of the community has repudiated adventurist urgings and accepted the introduction of martial law with understanding as consistent with national interests.

Only in a small number of enterprises of a section of the work force was unable to free itself of troublemakers. Contrary to their organizers' intentions, the sporadic strikes which took place during the few days which followed the introduction of martial law failed to lead to civil war. Thanks to the great experience of the commanders of the forces of law and order and their prudence and sense of responsibility when coercive measures had to be applied, no tragic incident has occurred in any of the enterprises located in Gdansk Voivodship. As you know, comrades, on 16-17 December a serious breach of the peace occurred in Gdansk where, in view of considerable resistance and aggressiveness on the part of demonstrators, it became necessary to use direct coercive measures on a larger scale.

As a result of direct action, a total of 196 civilians were hurt or wounded and 179 members of the forces of law and order as well as 2 soldiers from the Polish people's army were also hurt. It has to be stated with sorrow and regret that one of the wounded civilians died in hospital. However, considering the scale and extent of the adversary's counterrevolutionary plans and preparations and well as the fanaticism and determination of a section of the work force and young people affected by Solidarity's reckless propaganda, it should be emphasized that the losses and damage incurred were relatively minimal.

The next attempts to create disorders occurred when a breach of the peace was committed in Gdansk on 30 January and when efforts were made to organize provocations on 12-13 February 1982. However, as a result of the steps taken by the voivodship party organization and the district and enterprise committees as well as by the working class' responsible attitude and the preventive action taken by the forces of law and order, that provocation failed to develop. According to information in our possession, this has enraged Solidarity's extremist forces.

I believe that I am duty-bound to state at today's PZPR voivodship committee plenum that the activities of the members of the forces of law and order should be deemed highly efficient and effective.

Martial law has imposed certain restrictions and rigors on all the citizens of our country. As the normalization of the domestic situation progresses, they are being gradually eased or lifted. However, anyone who sees this as a sign of concessions to our adversaries or as a sign of weakness on our part is mistaken. The decisions adopted by the WKO [Voivodship defense committee] on 31 January have demonstrated this. According to a statement made by General Jaruzelski in the Sejm, the present restrictions can be either eased or lifted depending on the degree of improvement in social discipline. So any decision in this sphere will depend on the situation in the voivodship and the attitude of all citizens rather than on the authorities' good will.

The operation carried out on 13 December and during the following days caught our adversaries unaware. This was partly due to the belief that the authorities had become so weak that they were incapable of any decisive action, and also to the ideological maturity of and the effective action taken by the forces of law and order in general and the army, the Citizens' Militia and the security service in particular.

So a section of Solidarity's extremist leadership and some antisocialist groups have been rendered ineffective. According to a report of 9 March 1982, a total of 289 people were interned in Gdansk Voivodship, of whom 96 have been released for humanitarian reasons.

Some 164 people have been arrested for violating the regulations imposed by the martial law decree and 44 have so far been sentenced for these offenses. Local courts [kolegia] have punished 5,051 people.

The number of internees varies continuously and may continue to decrease, depending on their stance and their attitude to the state.

It is a fact, however, that a considerable proportion among the internees are determined political adversaries who have continued to demonstrate anticommunism and anti-Sovietism and the desire to fight to overthrow the people's power and who openly declare that they are prepared to continue deliberately violating the rules imposed by the law in force.

Western propaganda centers as well as various people hostile to us within the country have been spreading much false information about conditions in internment.

With reference to this I would like to state that relatively good and, in some cases, very good -- this applies to women and to people over 55 -- living conditions have been created for the internees.

Some of permanent officials of Solidarity who have not been interned have been loyal to the people's power. Some others, however, have sought to set up underground trade union structures and pursue hostile activities. The appearance in our streets of hostile leaflets, posters and graffiti has been one of the more noticeable signs of these activities. The tricity area has been especially threatened by hostile propaganda. A considerable proportion of hostile propaganda materials has continued to be seized by the forces of law and order, which have prevented their dissemination.

The leaflets, graffiti and posters in question challenge the basis for the introduction of martial law and slander the party, the Military Council of National Salvation, the army, the militia organs and the security service. They call for both passive and active resistance, urge people to organize protest and strike action, blackmail party members and state officials and contain instructions and directions for subversive action and sabotage. There are also people who advocate bloody terrorism, dreaming of an armed, subversive underground. Most of the hostile material is produced either by means of some primitive form of duplication or by hand, but some is produced by modern printing techniques. During the current year our organs have liquidated five illegal printing works, including two big ones, in the voivodship. One of them was equipped with a set of modern installations capable of printing 100,000 pages daily. In addition, several duplicators and a considerable amount of paper, printing ink, matrices and other printing material have been seized.

We must neither overestimate nor underestimate the social impact of that propaganda. This has been exemplified by the following facts:

Street disturbances on 30 January 1982;

A certain number of acts observed by us which definitely looked like sabotage;

Hostile demonstrations, such as turning lights off and placing lighted candles in windows as a sign of mourning, among other things, for the dissolved Independent Students Association, which we have also observed;

Furthermore, we have observed instances of rowdy and aggressive bearing and behavior by some individuals and groups.

With reference to these examples, I would like to state that wherever administrative or college authorities took firm steps, the situation improved considerably.

We must make the public realize that, wherever a breach of the peace occurs, firmer steps will be taken.

Since 13 December 1981, our organs have exposed the existence of 14 illegal groups and organizations with various action programs.

When we assess the existing threats we cannot overlook the activities of Western centers of ideological subversion and of Western secret services.

As a result of the introduction of martial law in Poland, and especially of the efficient implementation of the tasks connected with it unaided, their plans, which were prepared in anticipation of an expected and even provoked intervention, have been thwarted. Hence the fury and rage which we can now observe.

In view of its ability to directly influence the feelings of the Polish people, Radio "Free Europe" has become the main instrument of U.S. subversive propaganda. In its broadcasts to Poland, it has adopted the following guidelines, seeking to:

Present in an unfavorable light any steps taken by the leadership of the Polish People's Republic;

Present the party as an organization incapable of taking action and attack its leaders;

Extol the church's role and create a myth about the martyrdom of Solidarity activists;

Emphasize the allegedly special role and prerogatives of Polish Army officers, contrasting their position with that of conscripts, and represent members of the Citizens' Militia and the security service in the worst light possible.

Furthermore, because of the events in Poland, the Western special services have intensified their activities and various forms of espionage have further been developed. The main aims of those services' activities is to make it more difficult for us to extricate ourselves from the crisis and to create tensions which will serve as a pretext for mass attacks against the entire socialist community. So those services have been ordered to secure as a matter of urgency and by any means information concerning, among other things, the effectiveness of the military administration's activities, the party's position, any cadre changes, any transformations in the church's role, Solidarity's future and the form and extent of active and passive resistance, as well as any upsets with respect to the country's economic and financial balance.

Our adversaries have been doing their utmost to regain the opportunities which loomed in front of them between August 1980 and 13 December 1981. They have not yielded and are seeking to open new fronts. This is why it is indispensable to pursue constant, consistent and energetic activities with a view to further ensuring a considerable improvement in the state of public safety and law and order. They must mainly be pursued with a view to preventing any hostile initiatives and acts and promoting among the public an atmosphere favorable to the realization of the harmfulness of such acts. In this struggle, special attention should be paid to the activities of Western special services, political subversion centers and their allies in our country.

It is especially important to expose and sever the lines of communication and the information channels being established among them and to foil any attempts on their part to transmit financial and material aid in support of hostile ventures.

We should pay increased attention to and be prepared to take increasingly energetic steps against any attempts to organize clandestine structures, illegal groups, propaganda campaigns and agitation in support of passive resistance and psychological terror. Unless we eliminate in a more consistent and effective manner any criminogenic elements, the number of criminal and economic offenses may well increase.

The introduction of martial law has checked the destructive activities of criminal gangs and enabled the Citizens' Militia and security service organs to deal with offenses more effectively.

Since 13 December 64 criminal gangs have been exposed and arrested. It has been proved that these gangs had committed 374 criminal offenses. Since 13 December 1981, active investigations have led to the exposure of a total of 401 economic offenses. Some of these offenses involved amounts of more than Z100,000 or several hundred thousand zlotys, and a considerable number involved amounts in excess of Z1 million.

In view of the fact that a number of people have been taking advantage of the country's economic difficulties, Gdansk Voivodship Citizens' Militia and security service units have been paying special attention to this problem. The affairs of 226 so-called millionaires whose assets greatly exceed any assets which they could have acquired legally have been investigated. Our apparatus has investigated as important a problem from the social viewpoint -- in view of the difficult housing situation prevailing in the voivodship -- as the fact that certain people have two or even more homes.

Our investigations have shown that many categories of economic offenses have continued to pose a considerable threat to the community. In particular, it is necessary to actively resist any attempts to win young people's support for hostile activities -- hence the need to increase their protection against harmful influence.

The voivodship party organization must involve all patriotic social forces in the activities undertaken on this difficult and extensive front, because these are social phenomena and their liquidation or mitigation depends on and is in the interest of the community.

Finally, the activities of the Citizens' Militia and the security service need public support. We mainly expect such support from party members, members of the Citizens' Militia Volunteer Reserve, state and economic officials and people able to influence public attitudes.

I can assure you, comrades, that, taking advantage of this support, members of the Citizens' Militia and the security service in Gdansk Voivodship will increasingly effectively frustrate our adversaries' hostile acts, strengthen observance of the law and uphold law and order, which are now so indispensable to both our community and the Gdansk region.

POLITYKA VIEWS 'FASCIST' YOUTH ACTIVITIES

AU061645 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 3 Apr 82 p 8

[Dobrochna Kedzierska article: "An Embarrassing Subject"]

[Excerpts] "It was just amusement," a well-built youth, but not yet a man, said to me. And what was this amusement? I began the talk. "I was one day in Gdansk and heard about the fascist army of rebirth. We wanted to set up a group opposed to the drug-taking hippies," the youth said. He did not throw stones against the church and the [party] committee. Why did you assault that Taxi driver? I insisted. "Family troubles got the better of me, and things went from bad to worse each day. I could not hold myself back. I think it was all my fault.

My father [as published] saw me as evil only, but my mother was my protection.... I wanted to leave Poland. My stepfather was disgusted with me. He never called me by my name. He would just say: A runaway and a fugitive. When I was small I used to run away from home." The eyes of the youth, who was the leader of the group, sparkled. "I wanted to leave Poland in order to know why I have to work and what for. I wanted to see the meaning of my work and to achieve something. You can find the meaning of your work in Poland, but you cannot achieve anything. I know of so many people who have worked and worked and have achieved nothing. Take my stepfather. He is a cutter [krajacz] and has worked for 25 years, but has not been able to buy even a car. I would settle for a motorcycle. But he has nothing...." The youth stopped talking.

How old are you? "Seventeen. I finished the basic school and attend a school of building," he replied. Why did you organize that assault on the taxi driver? "I wanted to get out of Poland and go to Greece or Turkey." Do you think life is better there? "In those countries I would be ready even to sweep the streets." Would you achieve anything that way? I asked amazed. "Certainly I would not achieve anything to begin with, but I would eventually find a better job." Was that the only reason for the assault on the taxi driver? "No. I also wanted to ensure that my mother would have no trouble on my account.... Poland has existed for 36 years since the war, but what have they done to it? Some $25.5 billion of debts," he said under his breath. Who should be in power? I asked him. "One person, who should be helped by a few ministers. As things are, many people continue to govern and each one of them has a plush berth." The fight against the communists was to mean opposing them. What was your sentence? I asked. "I got 15 years in prison," his voice broke down again. When you are out will you go abroad? "Borders will be closed to me." What will you do? "I will work. I think that when I am out, there will be a different Poland, a better Poland, and that what was will never be again. You see, however you look at it, it will have been 15 years. I will be 32 then.

"I had a badge with an FRG eagle and flag on it. It bore the inscription 'Bundesrepublik Deutschland.' It was affixed to a sleeve of my parka together with a tape inscribed 'Herman Goering' and two skulls." The youth became animated. Do you know who Goering was? I asked him. "He was a German general," the youth calmed down. "He set up military units and dealt with concentration camps." Why exactly Goering? "I thought that Adolf Hitler was simply out of place." And who was Hitler? "He was the fascist leader in Germany." Have you heard anything about him at school? "Not much. They used to just tell us how the fronts had moved. They told us very little. They told us almost nothing about fascism." But who told you about Goering? "I read a book about the Herman Goering Division and I liked that they had been unconditionally devoted to the commander." Do you know what fascism is? "I do not know," his voice was quite calm. What did they tell you about fascism at school? I insisted. "Whatever is bad is fascism. Some books tell you about hygiene, culture, industriousness, punctuality and unconditional devotion. I like that." Why were you brutal? "This is not true. Ask my mates." You wanted to put fire to a cat or a dog.... "Is this brutality to your mates?" he flared up. "I wanted to show off before them and to scare them. All in all I knew little about fascism." Tell me about your anthem. "Our anthem? Every second guy knows it. I cannot remember the whole of it. I had the text at home. I think it goes like this: 'We fascists know best how to live. Each one of us is free as a bird....' We sang it to a melody of the Pink Floyd group. Something like it, but I cannot remember. I have got it written down somewhere."

What was it you wanted to fight for? I asked him again. "We wanted to fight for a just Poland so that everyone could possess something. We did not want a state of affairs in which you work for 25 years as an unqualified worker and all you can achieve is a bicycle or a motorcycle in the best event, while an engineer works for 2 years and is able to buy a car." Do you think that an engineer is about to buy a car after 2 year's work? "There are such engineers," he retorted. "There is no doubt that more engineers and people in similar positions own cars than unqualified workers who work and who certainly exert themselves much more than those people." Why then did you not go for engineering? "I have never given it a thought." What will you be? "A driver. One family should own one car and not three or four like that Szczepanski. And he had only foreign cars in the bargain."

How was it that you became a leader? "The boys chose me. I like order and culture, and this is what I like about fascism. Now even older people are saying that what Poland needs is only the Germans. They lose wars, but they are always on top. You see I have never met with true justice. Justice means that everyone has equal rights. In Poland you feel locked up in a cage." Who served you such views? "I have drawn my conclusions myself." Is your sentence unjust? "It is too high. I know of people who committed graver crimes but were given lesser sentences. I read in a newspaper about a murderer who had received about 15 years, as I did." But you were very close to killing that taxi driver. He was saved by passers by who happened to be there. He was only minutes away from death. You talk about law, order and culture, but how can you reconcile them with that assault? "I do not know. I do not accept cruelty in fascism, but I accept ruthlessness. Everyone should be ruthlessly devoted." Who told you such things? I asked him again. "I have drawn my own conclusions."

Which mother will say anything bad about her child? Mrs Kwiatkowska kept weeping. There is no justice in our country! They sentenced him to 15 years, but those who had hijacked a plane and landed in the FRG got only 5 years each, although they had also threatened life. I am still unable to talk about it, taxi driver Rajmund Gutowski said thoughtfully. The one behind me struck me with a knife. I had a struggle, but somehow I wrenched the knife out of his hand and that saved me. I jumped out of my taxi and fell on the ground. They kicked me in the eye. You will not believe it, but two of them were just 17 and the third only 15. They wanted to kill me, steal my car and escape to Turkey via the USSR.

My wife is not easily frightened, but at that particular moment she kept shaking and weeping, Mr Kowalski told me. She opened the door and what she saw was a figure all in black wearing a black stocking over his head. My wife was told that if our son did not join their organization they would finish off the entire family.

I was told that the fascists were training on the garrison hill in the use of knives, school teacher Krystyna Stanny told me. They call themselves fascists, but their knowledge about fascism is poor. I once asked one of them: Are you impressed by fascism? Yes. Have you read books about fascism? No. What did the fascists do? They kept on murdering and killing. Were there any fascists in your family? Yes, my grandfather served in the Germany army.

People in the streetcar were petrified. The boy looked like a Hitlerite phantom. He wore a peaked cap with Hitlerite insignia and a skull and had a swastika armband around his sleeve. A few stops on he was taken out of the streetcar by a Militia and army patrol. It was 10 December 1981.

Why did you wear such gear? The boy made a pleasant expression. "We had some drinks and were quite tipsy. One of us said that he who would don that uniform and travel to the Mercury discotheque would win half a liter of vodka or 2 liters of wine. I traveled three stops and was taken off by the militia. I did not pay any attention to the passengers. I was all tension. I know nothing at all, he began to tell his story. There was a war with fascism. There was also Hitler. The fascists are bad people. Hitler was a leader in Germany and was responsible for all the evil that befell the world. We wanted to fight the party and the militia. I am not a party member. And as for the militia, it interferes and punishes. There were about 30 fascists. I am strong, he stressed. Everyone knows that I was in the juvenile homes. My father is also in jail, and no one will take a poke at me. When I leave the jail I will work and get married.

Grudziac is an old and orderly Pomeranian town. A town to show off. At first it was an autonomous town and then a powiat. The administrative reform tied it for worse or better to the ambitions and local patriotism of Torun. In Grudziac everyone knows his place in the ranks and knows how to appreciate it. Those in power know what they know, and the workers' class knows what it knows, and everyone is contented, except that the young people offer some trouble....

There are about 200 hippies there -- pupils of the last grades of the basic schools and of the first and second grades of the above-basic schools as well as labor corps members. The hippies want to proclaim the truth about man, want everyone to love everyone, are horrified by violence and take any drug they can. Punks are distinguished for their pointed shoes, tight jackets and aggressiveness, which it is best to reinforce by a handful of chains. Punks fight...but it is quite difficult to find out why. They simply fight. Now we also have fascists. This is an embarrassing subject for our town, a teacher told me.

P.S. The FEST -- the Fascist Elite for Spreading Terrorism -- and the YOST -- the Youth Organization for Spreading Terrorism -- are no longer active in Grudziac. Some 500 Hitlerite badges, including those issued on the occasion of the invasion of Poland in 1939, were confiscated in Chelm.

COURTS PASS SENTENCE ON MARTIAL LAW VIOLATORS

LD071130 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0300 GMT 7 Apr 82

[Text] The press spokesman of the Ministry of Justice has informed about more verdicts being passed by voivodship courts under summary proceedings in cases of common offenses which violate the legal order of martial law. Verdicts on offense striking at the safety and property of citizens and at the activity of institutions and organs responsible for calm and public order are predominant. Thus, for instance, the Wroclaw Voivodship Court has sentenced Krzysztof (Statiwa) to 6 years in prison, a fine of Z25,000 and deprivation of public rights [duration not given] for breaking into a warehouse and (?stealing goods) valued at approximately Z110,000. Stanislaw (Trerd) has been sentenced by the Przemsl Voivodship Court to 4 years in prison, a fine of Z40,000 and deprivation of public rights for breaking into socialized and private buildings and appropriating property worth about Z50,000. The Olsztyn Voivodship Court has sentenced Waldemar Augustyniak to 3 years in prison and deprivation of public rights for assaulting a Citizen's Militia (MO) functionary who was carrying out official duties. The Wloclawek Voivodship Court has sentenced Bogumil Rogalski also to 3 years' in prison and deprivation of public rights for resisting a MO functionary who was carrying out official duties.

UPCOMING USSR TRADE COMMISSION SESSION VIEWED

Madej on USSR Cooperation

LD071640 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 7 Mar 82

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Apr (PAP) -- RZECZPOSPOLITA has published an interview with Zbigniew Madej, deputy chairman of the Polish People's Republic Council of Ministers and chairman of the Polish section of the intergovernmental Polish-Soviet Commission on Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation. The interview is devoted to the expansion of cooperation between Poland and the USSR. After describing Soviet assistance to Poland in 1980 [as received], Madej described the outlines for cooperation over the next 2-3 years. In this sphere, Madej stressed in particular the significance of using Poland's idle industrial capacity, for which deliveries of Soviet raw materials will be made. In the first half of 1982, Poland will receive viscose cellulose, synthentic rubber, wool, cotton and leather to satisfy over 10 percent of the requirements of industry.

The second trend in cooperation, stressed Madej, is the completion, together with the USSR, of certain industrial building projects which Poland is unable to implement itself due to lack of funds.

The most important problem, however, stressed Madej in conclusion, is a radical change in the conception of the further development of the Polish economy and international cooperation. Our program amounts to a reorientation of Polish industry toward cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries.

By this, we are pursuing three aims: independence from imports from the capitalist countries, use of the markets of the socialist countries for Polish goods and the creation of a more stable and reliable economic development of the country. The session of our commission which opens on 8 April will be devoted to all these problems.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY Report

LD080926 Warsaw PAP in English 0805 GMT 8 Apr 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 8 Apr (PAP) "The session of the Commission for Polish-Soviet Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, which is opening on April 8 in Warsaw, will give an opportunity for specifying those general agreements on closer cooperation which have been taken during General Wojciech Jaruzelski's visit to Moscow," said ZYCIE WARSZAWY today, adding that it will also embrace "a whole package of ventures aimed at fuller utilization of the Polish industrial potential."

ZYCIE WARSZAWY said that "the list of topics will include a programme of 130 industrial enterprises whose production is interesting to the partners.

"A broad topic is also the participation of (Soviet) partners in these investments which either Poland cannot complete alone or it would be pointless in the raw material situation.

"The thing is to make the CMEA countries solve the most fundamental questions in the sphere of technology and economy by themselves. The (Western) economic sanctions would then turn against those try to use them.

"The expansion of cooperative links, the coordination of investment ventures -- this is the road toward the strengthening of the resistance of particular countries and the entire socialist communist against external factors. For this reason, the opening Warsaw session is not only of current significance," concluded ZYCIE WARSZAWY.

Improving Production Potential

LD080320 Warsaw PAP in English 2020 GMT 7 Apr 82

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Apr (PAP) -- A successive session of the Polish-Soviet Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation [as received], starting tomorrow will discuss problems of cooperation links between the two countries. The sides will also acquaint themselves with information on a fuller use of Polish production potential in 1982.

The meeting will be attended by representatives of other European CEMA countries which will get acquainted with Poland's needs in this sphere. The session will also discuss coordination of work of CEMA member countries in lending assistance to Poland in a fuller use of her production potential both in 1982 and up to 1985.

The Polish side suggested the Soviet Union to participate in some 100 undertakings aimed at using her idle potential and suggested a joint completion of over a dozen discontinued investment projects. Cooperation is expected to concern mutual supplies and specialization in the production of buses and car and lorry assemblies, participation in the production of colour tv tubes, equipment and subassemblies for [word indistinct] machine tools, automatic lathes and sewing machines.

The Soviet Union is interested in cooperation in the production of automatic telephone switchboards ahd the use of the capacity of Polish non-ferrous metals rolling mills. Poland also offers services of her light industries. Already in the first half of 1982 the USSR is to supply Poland with some materials, like cotton, wool, hides.

All these steps offer chance for a quicker overcoming of the [words indistinct] achieve relatively soon a balance payments with socialist countries and especially the Soviet Union. As part of the production turned out by the Polish industry from Soviet materials will remain at home, a gradual improvement on domestic market is expected.

RZECZPOSPOLITA COMMENTS ON RELATIONS WITH CSSR

LD071356 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 7 Apr 82

["Strength of Alliance and Cooperation" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Apr (PAP) -- The visit of the party-government delegation to Prague, the talks held there and the decisions made as a result, have again confirmed that the internationalist friendship of Poland and Czechoslovakia, the participation of our countries in CEMA and the defensive Warsaw Treaty, are basic conditions for the strength, security and mutually-beneficial cooperation of our two states, writes today's RZECZPOSPOLITA under the above headline.

The strengthening of cooperation will be a decisive factor for the more rapid economic development of both countries and also for stengthening peace and security in Europe, which are at present seriously threatened. It was also stressed during the visit that interference by the United States and other NATO states in Poalnd's internal affairs contradicts the generally-accepted standards of international law, and that the sanctions applied by the United States against Poland and the USSR are blatant blackmail directed at undermining the principles of peaceful cooperation between states. The common aims and specific plans for bilateral cooperation, the article continues, will help to strengthen integration within the CEMA framework, which is a basic principle of economic policy in both Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Our country is passing through a difficult period in its development. At such a time, particular importance is attached to the solidarity and cooperation of all the socialist states, the quality of their cooperation, and their mutual assistance, both internationally and in the economic field. The visit of the Polish party-government delegation to Prague shows that we can rely on Czechoslovakia taking this position and that it is our faithful and reliable ally, writes RZECZPOSPOLITA in conclusion.

FREIGHT TRANSIT AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH CSSR

LD071558 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 7 Apr 82

[Text] PAP has hearned that an intergovernmental agreement between Poland and Czechoslovakia on cooperation in the transit of freight goods between the two countries until 198[illegible] has been signed in Prague. The agreement takes into account present trade and transportation realities. During the talks the Czechoslovak delegation informed with satisfaction that an improvement can be observed in the servicing of Czechoslovak transit cargo in Polish ports and by the Polish trade fleet and the directorate of the state railroads.

GENERAL DZIEKAN HEADS PZPR DELEGATION TO GDR

LD080930 Warsaw PAP in English 0800 GMT 8 Apr 82

[Text] Berlin, 7 Apr (PAP) -- Head of the PUWP CC Personnel Department, Gen Tadeusz Dziekan, who is heading a PUWP CC delegation now on a visit to the GDR, had a meeting with SED CC SEcretary Horst Dohlus here today. The two stressed that the recent visit to the GDR by the Polish party-and-state delegation provided a new stimulus to the exchange of views and experience between the PUWP and SED. Dohlus briefed the Polish guest about his experience in implementing the leading role of his party and in raising the activeness of basic party links. This is the precondition for putting into effect the resolutions of the 10th SED Congress in both home and foreign policy, he said.

TURKISH CORRESPONDENT INTERVIEWS CEAUSESCU

AU080810 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 5 Apr 82 pp 1,6

[Interview granted by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu to GUNES correspondent Cevat Taylan in Bucharest on 2 April]

[Text] Question: How do you view the present and the future of the political and the economic relations among the states in the Balkans, which was the scene of serious conflicts in the past? What should be done to enhance cooperation in the region?

Answer: Significant changes have come about in the Balkans since World War II. New relationships have been formed among the states of the region based on economic, technical, scientific and cultural cooperation and on mutual confidence. Varied and extensive cooperation in many fields, including the establishment of joint companies, has been formed. All this has contributed to the creation of an atmosphere of mutual confidence among the Balkan states and to the materialization of better conditions for rapprochement among them. I wish to state that as a result of efforts exerted toward the individual development of each state, the attainment of national independence and the continual improvement of the welfare of the peoples, economic relations among the Balkan states have constantly increased. Today we can say that new conditions have emerged among the states in the Balkans which may enable them to resolve their problems through negotiations. These conditions may also ease the way to the creation of a field of peaceful cooperation in the Balkans free from nuclear weapons. The meetings held in recent years regarding the multilateral economic cooperation among the Balkan states, though still at experts level, are very important. These meetings tend to pave the way to high-level contacts and talks, even among the heads of states. This will thus lead, on one hand, to the settlement of the outstanding issues through negotiations in the interests of peace and cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe and in the entire world, and on the other, to a joint search for ways and means of strengthening cooperation among the states of the region.

Question: What do you think should be done for the attainment of rapid results in matters on the Turkish-Romanian agenda, such as transportation, tourism, and extraction of oil as well as its management? Are these obstacles in the way which should be eliminated?

Answer: I wish to state with deep satisfaction that the economic cooperation and trade exchange between our two countries, which has increased by six times since 1975, has been constantly increasing. In fact, the trade exchange between our two countries so far has weighed heavily in favor of Romania. However, I believe that suitable conditions exist which can bring about an equilibrium in our trade balance through the development of our economic cooperation and trade exchange between our two countries. Like the Central Anatolia Refinery, which is under construction, the joint management of various economic projects through cooperation and joint companies and the discovery of new forms of cooperation in production is of paramount importance. As a matter of fact, I believe that we should more positively develop our cooperation in the field of transportation in order to expand our relations on the basis of mutual interest by extensively benefiting from both the Black Sea and the Danube, as well as from the land in Turkey. I hope that we shall reach agreement in this respect during the forthcoming visit of your head of state to Romania. Again, we can materialize an extensive cooperation in the fields of mining and oil extraction as well as in other fields. Such forms of cooperation will provide great facilities in the expansion of economic exchanges. I believe that suitable agreements have been reached between our countries and that we are in a position to implement them.

Question: Honorable President, what are the possibilities of further developing cooperation between Romania and Turkey in the industrial field?

Answer: A while ago, I referred to the possibilities of joint establishment of certain industrial projects on the basis of mutual interest. I believe that the joint realization of certain industrial projects will greatly contribute to the economic and social development of our countries and will constitute important factors toward strengthening the independences and sovereignty of both countries. At present, both Romania and Turkey possess the necessary capacity of materializing and implementing numerous projects which are of profound importance both socially and economically.

Question: Would you like to comment, as the ruler of a neighboring country, on the question of the differences between Turkey and Greece, from the point of view of bringing about an atmosphere of ideal cooperation in the Balkans?

Answer: Romania accepts the necessity of trying to resolve all the disputes among the Balkan states, and in this case, between Turkey and Greece, only through negotiations. To achieve such a settlement, both countries should bear in mind not only their interests. Due respect for their independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty is essential. They should realize the need to reduce tension and to establish a policy of peace. Such a solution would be as much in the interests of Turkey and Greece as in the interests of the other Balkan states. Romania most sincerely wishes to see the settlement of the problems in this manner, and it will do its utmost to contribute to such a settlement. If the parties concerned show good will, we are of the opinion that the differences are not such that cannot be resolved through negotiations. We hope that this is the line they will follow.

Question: Honorable President, would you kindly explain to me the attitude of the Romanian government on the subject of settling the Cyprus dispute through peaceful methods?

Answer: Romania has always supported the settlement of the Cyprus problem through creating conditions which will safeguard the territorial integrity and the independence of the island and which will enable the two communities to coexist in peace. It is our conviction that both Turkey and Greece should make efforts toward the implementation of such a solution. This would contribute not only to the normalization of the relations between the two countries but also to the advancement of Cyprus in an atmosphere of independence and to the development of cooperation in the Balkans and Europe.

Question: May I beg you to comment on such main issues as Poland, Afghanistan, and the Middle East, which are the cause of the present tension both in the interbloc relations and generally in international life?

Answer: A very grave tension has developed in international life. This is the outcome of a policy of creating zones of influence through a policy of threat brought about by the use of force. It is true that we are going through a period in which great changes have come about in the balance of power in the world and that international relations are being laid on new foundations. This situation, which is naturally causing great upheavals, demands that everything should be done to prevent the differences from assuming more serious dimensions. We believe in the necessity of resolving all disputes through peaceful negotiations and of doing everything possible for the suspension of the nuclear arms race. We are of the opinion that the deployment of medium-range missiles, particularly in Europe, should be suspended, that the existing ones should be withdrawn and that we should start action to bring about a Europe free from nuclear weapons. Because, the lives and the survival of the European peoples are in jeopardy. We must therefore act in a resolute manner. We must try to bring about security and cooperation in Europe and the successful implementation of the Madrid conference. We must create conditions which will make possible the elimination of the blocs policy, even of the military blocs. If we did this, we would be creating new relations which would be based on respect for the national sovereignty and independence of each nation and on observance of the principle of nonintervention in the internal affairs of other countries and also on the principle of mutual trust.

Moreover, we must do everything possible for the settlement of the Middle East issues through negotiations. Both Romania and Turkey are directly concerned about the establishment of a lasting peace in the Middle East. The kind of peace which should be established in the Middle East must enable Israel to withdraw from the territory it has occupied, and the people of Palestine must be given a chance to form their own independent state. As I have stated, all disputes, including the one between Iraq and Iran should be resolved through negotiations. This is in the interest both of the countries concerned and also in the interest of peace and cooperation. As far as the problems of Poland are concerned, these are purely for the people of Poland to resolve. These problems must be resolved without any outside interference whatsoever. We believe that various kinds of outside interferences in Poland's affairs can only entail the worsening of international relations, and eventually, they are unacceptable to the people of this country. The question of Afghanistan too, as well as other disputes, should be resolved through mutual agreements among neighboring countries which would stipulate respect for the independence and sovereignty of Afghanistan and which would pledge nonintervention in its internal affairs.

Question: Honorable President, have you any message for the Turkish nation before the visit that the Turkish head of state is going to pay to your country?

Answer: I am expecting the Turkish head of state's visit to Romania with deep pleasure and I believe that this visit will play an important role in the development of relations between our two peoples. I take this opportunity to send to the friendly Turkish people a message of friendship, wishing them new achievements, abundance, peace and prosperity in their economic and social developments.

SOVIET PEACE COMMITTEE DELEGATION ENDS VISIT

AU061754 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 4 Apr 82 p 5

[Text] At the invitation of the National Committee for the Defense of Peace, a delegation of the Soviet Peace Committee led by I.N. Klychev, member of the Presidium of the Soviet Peace Committee and chairman of the Committee for the Defense of Peace of the Turkmen SSR, paid a visit to our country between 29 March and 3 April.

The delegation had talks at the Grand National Assembly, the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy, the National Committee for the Defense of Peace, the Institute for World Economy, the Union of Plastic Artists and the Prahova County Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, and visited sociocultural units in Bucharest and Prahova County.

SCINTEIA ON BRITISH-ARGENTINIAN DISPUTE

AU080849 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0815 GMT 8 Apr 82

[The Interests of Peace and Detente Call for Peaceful, Negotiated Settlement of British-Argentinian Dispute -- SCINTEIA headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 8 Apr (AGERPRES) -- Under the above headline, daily SCINTEIA of April 8 prints an article reading among other things:

The evolution these days of the British-Argentinian dispute is one good reason worrying the international public opinion. The move of the British navy fleet and the strengthening of the Argentinian landing forces create the danger of an armed conflict between the two countries. The recourse to force, to military means thus threaten to bring about a serious situation for peace in that region, with serious international implications.

Romania has permanently declared in support of the political, negotiated settlement of any inter-state dispute, of all litigious issues. Life demonstrates, as stressed by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu, that a conflict is easy to begin but by far more difficult to end. The whole evolution of international life offers more than one example attesting to the fact that the use of force has never led to a settlement of issues. On the contrary, it has caused their aggravation and complication. Therefore, in absolutely all circumstances, irrespective of the place where a conflict or a dispute emerged, Romania, starting from the primordial cause of peace salvation and of promoting international detente, has always declared for their peaceful, negotiated settlement.

Romania is convinced, and life has proved it, that no matter how complicated, the problems resulting in disputes must not be considered impossible to solve. The more intensified should be the efforts for their settlement by peaceful means exclusively.

In this spirit, no doubt, a peaceful settlement can be found also for the dispute between Great Britain and Argentina on the matter of the Islas Malvinas. Especially under the current complex international circumstances, marked by a serious mounting of tension, moderation and constructive spirit are necessary in order not to burden the world climate with yet another source of tension. In today's overarmed world in which numerous hotbeds of tension obtain, it is necessary that everything possible be done in order to avert the outburst of a new conflict, to ensure the prevalence of reason, of the spirit of understanding. Such an approach to the situation came about on the matter of the Islas Malvinas, both parties' showing the will to seek a peaceful and equitable solution to the dispute, while resolutely renouncing the way of force, avoiding the armed confrontation and starting negotiations, would match the major requirements of peace, in harmony with the interests of international detente, understanding and collaboration.

CEAUSESCU, TURKEY'S EVREN CONCLUDE TALKS

Final Meeting

AU071957 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 7 Apr 82

[Text] During a working dinner today, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, met again with Gen Kenan Evren, head of state of the Republic of Turkey. Gen Kenan Evren said he gained pleasant impressions from his trip to Brasov County, which offered him the opportunity to become directly acquainted with achievements of certain peak branches of our economy and with the Romanian people's work devoted to the progress and prosperity of their fatherland, as well as to admire certain valuable monuments and the beauty of the Romanian landscape. The Turkish head of state again warmly thanked President Nicolae Ceausescu for the warm hospitality extended to him throughout his visit to our country.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Gen Kenan Evren continued, during their working dinner, the exchange of views on certain bilateral and international issues of mutual interest. The talks and dinner proceeded in the same atmosphere of cordiality, friendship and mutual esteem which have characterized the entire Romanian-Turkish summit dialogue. The sides stressed that this visit and the talks held on this occasion will positively influence the development of relations between the two countries and the friendship and cooperation between the Romanian and Turkish peoples, to their mutual benefit and in the interest of the cause of peace, security and cooperation in the Balkans, Europe and throughout the world.

Documents Signed

AU080723 [Editorial Report] Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian at 0703 GMT on 8 April carries a live relay from the Palace of the Republic on the signing of the official Romanian-Turkish documents following the visit of Turkish President Kenan Evren to Romania.

According to the announcer, President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Kenan Evren are signing the joint Romanian-Turkish declaration. The announcer adds that "This morning a program on economic cooperation, an agreement on direct ferryboat lines between Romanian Black Sea ports to Turkish ports, a protocol on cooperation in the field of health and medical science were signed and measures were agreed upon on cooperation in the fields of science, culture, art, tourism, radio and television."

The live relay ends at 0708 GMT, without any speeches being made.

Evren Departs

AU080800 [Editorial Report] Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian at 0744 GMT on 8 April carries a live relay from Otopeni Airport on the departure from Romania of Turkish President Kenan Evren. According to the announcer, the Turkish guests are seen off by President Nicolae Ceausescu and their party-state officials. The national anthems of the two countries are played. The two presidents are reported to review the honor guard. Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Kenan Evren are reported to "Shake hands for a long time and with cordiality."

The live relay ends at 0757 GMT, without any speeches being made.

FARM BILLS EXPLAINED; EFFICIENCY ENCOURAGED

Agricultural Pay

AU021405 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0935 GMT 2 Apr 82

["Rationale of the Bill of Remuneration of Work in Cooperative Farm Units"]

[Text] Bucharest, 2 Apr (AGERPRES) -- Delivering the rationale of the bill of remuneration of work done in the cooperative farm units, Emil Bobu highlighted that the new normative act, which was submitted to public debate and experimentally applied, emphasizes the special, steady concern the RCP and Romanian state leadership shows for raising production and economic efficiency in the cooperative farm sector, the welfare of the peasants, of all working people in Romania.

The bill establishes in a new spirit the general principles of the remuneration system in cooperative farm units and the intercooperative economic associations, stimulating the cooperative farmers and the other workers in doing the work set, in strictly applying the technologies, achieving ever bigger productions and supplies to the state stock -- prerequisites for a steady increase of the cooperative farmers' incomes, for meeting the population's consumption needs and other requirements of the national economy.

For a firmer application of the principles of the new economic financial mechanism, the bill stresses that the executives of each unit, all cooperative farmers and experts must take most resolute and highly responsible action for managing the land and the other technical-material means with utmost efficiency, thus providing the necessary financial means for the planned remuneration, fully covering the expenses, making adequate profits from which the development fund and other statutory funds should be constituted.

The bill makes important improvements to the provisions which regulate the organization of production and work. Of special importance is the establishment of norms of work and improved tariffs of remuneration, unitary for the entire cooperative agriculture, differentiated only by four groups, properly set in accordance with the complexity of operations. As for the forms and conditions of remuneration, the bill points to the need for generalizing the piecework system in all sectors.

Pursuing to stimulate and keep highly skilled workers in zootechny permanent on their jobs, the bill provides for a rise in the remuneration of the workers in this sector. To the same end, besides the plot assigned for private use and other rights granted to cooperative peasants, they are also ensured an augmented pension, standing at 30 percent of the level of pensions granted to workers in state farm units.

For enhancing responsibility of the chairman, of other executives as regards the implementation of plan tasks for the unflinching application of the principle of socialist equity, the bill stipulates a just proportion between minimum and maximum incomes, a closer correlation between that personnel's remuneration and the average income of cooperative peasants directly working in production.

The fulfillment of the provisions of the programme on territorial self-management and self-supply required regulations on the quantum and the way of granting the kind share [share in kind] from the remuneration.

In order to steadily develop and diversify production, to strengthen economical units and raise cooperative peasants' incomes, the new normative act stipulates the cooperatives' obligation to earmark a minimum 70 percent of the profit for the development fund, but not less than 18 percent from the net production.

The bill also includes other regulations meant to contribute to raising the entire activity in the producer farm cooperatives and intercooperative economic associations onto a qualitatively superior stage, to their making an increased contribution to the country's general development.

Fodder Use

AU021316 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0945 GMT 2 Apr 82

["Rationale of Bill on Organization of Production and Rational Use of Fodder Resources"]

[Text] Bucharest, 2 Apr (AGERPRES) -- Presenting this rationale within the debates of the Grand National Assembly, Ion Tesu, minister of agriculture, pointed out that the bill on the organization of production and rational use of fodder resources stemmed from the necessity of fulfilling the provisions of the development programme of agriculture and food industry, of substantially increasing the zootechnical production in this quinquennium. It stipulates the obligations of the state and cooperative farm units, of all farm producers to integrally fulfill the tasks of animal-breeding and of completely meeting from internal resources the necessary amounts of fodder for their entire livestock.

At the same time, recorded are the tasks incumbent on the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry as well as on the people's councils to take care of the production of larger amounts of fodder on all areas stipulated for fodder, inclusive of those meant for successive cultures.

Special attention is paid in the bill to the better turning to use of natural and cultivated pastures. It also stipulates the right of the cooperative members who contract animals and animal produce with the state stock to benefit with priority of areas for the production of fodder in the second culture, as well as from the assignment of hayfields for the execution of necessary works with payment in kind.

CEAUSESCU SENDS MESSAGE TO DISARMAMENT SESSION

AU022054 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1918 GMT 2 Apr 82

[Text] Bucharest, 2 Apr (AGERPRES) -- The message addressed by Romania's president, Nicolae Ceausescu to the participants in the International Conference of Non-Governmental Organizations for Disarmament and Development in Brussels, reads:

Your conference takes place in complex circumstances, when a particularly serious tension has emerged in the international life, as a result of the policy of consolidation and redivision of the zones of influence, of force and interference in other states' internal affairs of the perpetuation of the states of conflict and war in various zones of the world, of the escalation of the arms race, of the sharpening of the economic crisis and of the gaps, between rich and poor countries, which considerable jeopardizes peoples' peace, independence and their very existence.

Particularly worrying is the escalation of the arms race which by its huge proportions is an unbearable burden on peoples' shoulders, deepends the difficulties generated by the economic crisis, foments the policy of confrontation and increasingly, threatens with a new devasting war.

The most dangerous situation is in Europe, where there are two opposite military blocs, where huge stockpiles of weapons have accumulated, especially nuclear weapons, where new medium-range missiles are to be sited, such a tension being attained that it considerably enhances the menace of a nuclear war, of the destruction of European nations and of life on the continent.

Under these particularly grave international circumstances, it is more necessary than ever before for the progressive, democratic forces, for peoples everywhere to join their efforts in the fight for removing the war danger, for defending the sacred right to life, to free, independent development, of each people, in keeping with its aspirations after progress, the message points out.

Highlighting that Romania unflinchingly campaigns for a policy of peace, understanding and cooperation among all the states of the world and reminding the principles promoted in this respect, President Ceausescu shows in his message: We consider that everything must be done for halting the emplacement of medium-range missiles in Europe, for the withdrawal of the existing ones, for a Europe without any kind of nuclear weapons. We express our hope that the Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva, in which all the European states must participate in one form or another, will lead to results matching people's expectations, to reducing the nuclear armament and to eventually achieving a Europe without any kind of nuclear missiles, which is a prerequisite of real disarmament, of detente and peace on the continent and in the world. An important role in this direction devolves upon popular masses, upon ample movements and actions against siting new nuclear missiles on the continent, for disarmament and peace.

Let us do everything possible now, till it is not too late, in order to induce the halting of the arms race and the passage to actual disarmament measures, nuclear disarmament first of all, for the elimination of any manifestation of the policy of strength and confrontation, in order not to allow Europe, the cradle of the civilization developed by the peoples living here since millennia, to become the theatre of a devastating nuclear conflagration, the message urges, adding:

We attach special importance to the fact that your meeting approaches the questions of disarmament in close connection with the problems of eradicating the underdevelopment -- which affects the life of two thirds of the planet's population -- and of ensuring faster socio-economic development especially of the developing countries, since these are the fundamental problems on whose settlement in the interest of all peoples depends the fate of peace, the very future of mankind. The eradication of underdevelopment and the securing of the lagging countries' faster development demand, besides the respective countries' own efforts, also the earmarking by the international community of important funds that can and must be obtained on account of the expenditures for arming.

Socialist Romania, herself a developing country, has advanced numerous proposals and initiatives within the UN and other international fora for the freezing and then the gradual reduction of the military expenditures, of the armed forces and arms, in a first stage by 10-15 percent, with a part of the thus released means having to be used for supporting the developing countries' faster progress.

In concluding his message, Romania's president wishes success to the conference proceedings and expresses the confidence that the participating organizations will make an ever more important contribution to the attainment of these vital desiderata of mankind.

CEAUSESCU SPEAKS AT AWARD CEREMONY 1 APRIL

AU052106 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 2 Apr 82 p 3

[Speech by President Nicolae Ceausescu at 1 April ceremony within the Grand National Assembly session in Bucharest in which awards were conferred on various units for merit in plan fulfillment in 1981]

[Text] Dear comrades, on behalf of the party and state leadership and on my own behalf, I would like to extend warmest congratulations to all counties and socioeconomic units in all fields which were today awarded high distinctions and orders of the Socialist Republic of Romania. (loud, prolonged applause)

We have indeed a great number of counties, and units in industry, agriculture and other economic sectors that have achieved positive results and that won awards today, including the "Hero of Socialist Work" award. This is an expression of the great appreciation for the activity carried out by the working people in the given counties and units which did all they could in 1981 to fulfill the highly responsible tasks handed down to them in the plan fulfillment, thus making their contribution to our socialist fatherland's constant development.

Undoubtedly, the working people from the given counties and units view this with pride. I am convinced that they will draw the conclusion that those high orders and distinctions will oblige them to carry out better activity in 1982 and the following years, both to preserve the place they hold in socialist competition and maybe to gain a higher ranking position, and generally to fulfill their tasks under most favorable conditions.

The 1981 plan fulfillment results are known. Yesterday's Central Committee plenum endorsed the economic-financial balance sheet, and we made a new general assessment of the activity and results achieved. Those results demonstrate that -- under the difficult economic conditions existing in 1981, at an international level and under the conditions of certain difficulties and shortcomings especially in the field of material-technical supply, but also in other fields -- we recorded important results and thus created the necessary bases for fulfilling the overall 5-year plan. Therefore, I would like to take this opportunity to stress, once again, the special role and activity carried out by our workers class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and all social categories in fulfilling the 1981 plan and in achieving the results we have recorded in all fields.

At this ceremony, I would like to extend once again warmest congratulations to all working people, irrespective of nationality, and to all our people, together with wishes for ever new successes in fulfilling the 1982 plan and in fulfilling the overall 5-year plan. (loud, prolonged applause)

The 5-year plan targets are known, as are the 1982 plan tasks. I do not want to repeat them now. As is known, we have proposed to achieve a new work quality, to proceed to a higher level, both from a material and cultural viewpoint. The implementation of such targets requires sustained efforts by all party and state bodies, by all collective leadership bodies of our socialist society and by the working people in all sectors of activity.

We have a good material-technical basis. Above all, today we have a strong, highly qualified and highly technical force of workers, cooperative members and peasants, of other working people in the other branches of activity, a force of engineers, technicians and men of science who, in acting in complete unity and in closely combining productive activity with education and research, are able to resolve the complex problems of our development and of socioeconomic progress. We must be completely aware that raising the Romanian socialist society onto new levels of civilization and progress is closely linked to the work performed by all our people, and to basing all our activity on the most advanced achievements of modern science and technology.

Today one cannot conceive of the development of human society -- and all the more so of socialism and communism -- without doing everything necessary to acquire and apply the newest achievements of science and technology and of human knowledge in practice. This very aspect shows the superiority of socialism and communism! (loud, prolonged applause)

I am convinced that all those who have been awarded today will do all they can to demonstrate that they are determined to preserve their won positions -- so to speak -- and that others will hold new positions. I am also convinced that the units in all fields that did not receive any awards today will seriously start thinking and will propose to engage in their work with greater determination to hold one of the frontranking places in the great socialist competition that is taking place in our country with a view to implementing the 12th party congress decisions and building the comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania. I am convinced that many of those present here propose -- at least in thought -- told hold first place next year or one of the frontranking places. This is a natural desire and I understand it, and I want to ask all those comrades to do all they can to hold one of the frontranking places! Everyone must understand that he has the possibility to hold first place! (loud, prolonged applause)

All working collectives, all working people and all our people will win in this socialist competition. Thus we will be able to constantly fulfill the tasks handed down to us in 1982 and in the current 5-year plan. And thus we will be able to raise our socialist fatherland onto a new development level, to continuously improve the people's material and cultural well-being and to strengthen Romania's strength and economic independence, its territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence.(loud, prolonged applause)

With this conviction, I wish all working people's collectives -- those who have received awards and those who have not received any -- increasingly greater successes in their activity. I wish all of you greater and greater successes, must good health and happiness! (loud, prolonged applause) (In an atmosphere of complete enthusiasm, those present in the hall rise to their feet and give a longstanding ovation to the RCP -- our society's leading force -- and to the party secretary general and president of the republic, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu)

SRV'S LE DUAN RECEIVES ION COMAN IN HANOI

AU012135 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2005 GMT 1 Apr 82

[Text] Hanoi, 1 Apr (AGERPRES) -- On April 1 Le Duan, secretary general of the CC of the Communist Party of Vietnam, met Ion Coman, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, head of the RCP delegation that participated in the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

In behalf of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania, Le Duan was conveyed congratulations on his re-election as secretary general of the Communist Party of Vietnam. Thanking, Le Duan asked that Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed most sincere thanks as well as the wish of the Communist Party of Vietnam to further develop the relations of friendship and collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples.

PATRIOTIC GUARDS AKTIV MEETS IN BUCHAREST

AU061755 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 3 Apr 82 p 5

[Summary] A meeting of the aktiv of the general staffs of Patriotic Guards took place in Bucharest between 29 March and 2 April, at the headquarters of the RCP Central Committee. It discussed tasks concerning the training of paramilitary youth units for defending the fatherland. At the end of the meeting, the participants adopted a telegram to President Nicolae Ceaususcu.

PRESIDENCY APPROVES KRAIGHER'S AFRICAN TOUR

LD071930 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1548 GMT 7 Apr 82

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Apr (TANJUG) -- A session of the SFRY Presidency was held in Belgrade today. President Sergej Kraigher, who chaired the session, acquainted the Presidency with the results of recent visits to the nonaligned countries of West Africa: Gabon, Nigeria, Guinea and Mali, as well as to Portugal.

It was noted that those visits and the talks held on those occasions meant the deepening of friendship and of cooperation between Yugoslavia and those countries. The special significance of the visits lies in the fact that they were made at the time of exacerbated relations in the world and when the intensified activity of nonaligned countries and of the international community aimed at overcoming such a situation is necessary.

A positive assessment of the visits was also made from the point of view of preparation for the seventh conference of heads of state and government of nonaligned countries. In the meetings between President Kraigher and the statesmen of the nonaligned African countries, readiness was expressed to invest all necessary efforts to have this international gathering -- which is of exceptional significance for the whole world -- implement its role and achieve the results expected from it. In this context, the session stressed the significance of agreement in all the talks on the need to end the armed conflict between the two nonaligned countries, Iraq and Iran, and to resolve peacefully the outstanding problems existing between them. This would contibute to a great extent to successful preparations for the seventh conference of the heads of state and government of nonaligned countries.

Stress was laid on the significance of the results so far achieved in the field of bilateral cooperation, especially economic cooperation, and the concrete accords reached in this connection during the visits. It was also pointed out at the session that the development of economic links and cooperation with developing countries is becoming a permanent orientation on Yugoslavia's part, both because of the importance of this process for our own development and because of the contribution thus made to realizing the decisions taken by the highest-ranking meetings of nonaligned countries.

At the same session, the Presidency considered a report on the visit shortly to be paid to our country by President Rudolf Kirchschlaeger of Austria. Stress was laid on the importance of this visit from the point of view of further development of bilateral cooperation and exchange of views on topical questions of international relations. The Presidency appointed SFRY ambassadors and heads of mission to several countries of the world and to international organizations. They should assume their duties in 1982. The Presidency also considered a number of other questions within its competence.

VRHOVEC ADDRESSES KUWAIT NONALIGNED MEETING

LD071440 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1317 GMT 7 Apr 82

[Text] Kuwait, 7 Apr (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Josip Vrhovec today stated that Yugoslavia attaches greatest significance "to the just solution of the Palestinian question and called non-aligned countries to joint action in the aim of mobilizing the international community for stopping the Israeli aggression. Vrhovec today addressed the plenary session of the special ministerial meeting of the Non-aligned Coordinating Bureau here in Kuwait devoted to the Palestinian question and broader problem of the Middle East.

"We demand effective measures and actions aimed at compelling Israel to comply with the U.N. decisions," Vrhovec stated, addressing the representatives of 72 non-aligned countries, guests from neutral states and international organizations. The Yugoslav foreign secretary underlined the necessity of the fulfillment of five basic principles for reaching a comprehensive and just solution to the Middle East crisis.

The principles, as cited by Vrhovec, are: Israel's withdrawal from all occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, the recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and its full participation in seeking a solution based on UN resolutions, the realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and its own state, the ensurance of the right of all peoples in the Middle East to live in peace and security, and an active role of the UN in the implementation of its decisions in this respect.

"We are convinced that partial and separate solutions cannot lead to the termination of the crisis situation," Vrhovec said. The federal secretary recalled that the right to existence was withheld from the Palestine people and that a total war was being fought against it. Vrhovec emphasized that the Palestine question was the hard core of the Middle East crisis, adding that this crisis is one of the most dangerous focuses of tension in the world. Israel is found to blame for such a state of affairs, Israel which still can count on foreign support, protection and benevolence, Vrhovec also underlined. "We have to say openly that this prompts Israel's growing aggressiveness," he said.

Josip Vrhovec said that the armament race continues "at an insane pace" pulling the world to the brink of a catastrophe. Vrhovec also recalled that the world stability is being shaken by a deep economic crisis, that the rivalry of blocs is not lessening, and that crises are not being solved, but accumulated. The Movement of Nonalignment must not bow its head to the force, Vrhovec said. He stressed that the vital interest of the nonaligned is to struggle for a peaceful settlement of major problems confronting the modern world.

In this context Vrhovec also stated Yugoslavia's concern with the war being waged between two nonaligned countries -- between Iraq and Iran. This war weakens the independence of both countries and prevents them from devoting their creative forces and resources to their own development and the welfare of their peoples, Vrhovec said. The Yugoslav secretary for foreign affairs urged both sides to display genuine goodwill and political (?reason), with a view to reaching a peaceful solution which would satisfy the just and legitimate interests of the Iraqi and Iranian nations. "We wonder could not a peace process be begun by ceasing hostilities, withdrawing troops, and immediately opening negotiations on the problems existing between the two countries," said Vrhovec. He said a peaceful solution would also be a contribution to the forthcoming non-aligned summit and the consolidation of the non-aligned policy and movement.

MILATOVIC MONTENEGRO DELEGATION VISITS MOSCOW

LD071918 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1320 GMT 7 Apr 82

[Text] Moscow, 7 Apr (TANJUG) -- The delegation from Montenegro, headed by Veljko Milatovic, president of the Montenegro Presidency, which is visiting the RSFSR, visited the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium today. In a friendly conversation with Mikhail Yasnov, chairman of the Presidium, the delegation exchanged views on the development of cooperation between Montenegro and the RSFSR. The delegation laid wreaths in front of the Lenin Mausoleum in Red Square and at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Kremlin Wall and inspected the Lenin Museum in the Kremlin, where the leader of the October Revolution lived and worked. In the afternoon the delegation visited the second Moscow watch and clock factory and was acquainted with the work of this well-known enterprise.

MILOS MINIC RECEIVES AUSTRIAN AMBASSADOR

LD061546 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1306 GMT 6 Apr 82

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Apr (TANJUG) -- Milos Minic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Federal Social Council for International Relations, has received Austrian Ambassador to Yugoslavia Dr Norbert Linhart at the latter's request.

POZDERAC CONTINUES VISIT TO AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Meets Mozambique's Machel

AU051740 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Apr 82 p 7

[Text] Maputo -- Samora Machel, president of the Frelimo Party and the People's Republic of Mozambique, yesterday received Hamdija Pozderac, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, who is leading an LCY delegation on a visit of several days to this African country.

During the meeting, President Machel recalled, in carefully chosen words, memories of several of his meetings with President Josip Broz Tito, whom he called "a great friend of the Mozambique revolution and people of this African country, a founder of the Nonaligned Movement and a consistent fighter for socialism in the world."

President Machel also assessed the current visit of the LCY delegation as very positive and useful for further developing relations between the two parties and countries, while stressing that there exist broad possibilities for comprehensive development of relations in many domains of mutual interest.

Meets Tanzania's Nyerere

AU051742 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Apr 82 p 7

[Text] Dar es Salaam -- Julius Nyerere, president of the Revolutionary Party and the United Republic of Tanzania, yesterday received Hamdija Pozderac, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, who at the head of an LCY delegation is currently visiting this friendly and nonaligned African country. The reception and talks were also attended by Dr Ivekovic, SFRY ambassador in Dar es Salaam; and Vemic, chief of the group for nonaligned countries at the LCY Central Committee International Department, as well as a number of high-ranking Tanzanian party officials.

In a lengthy friendly talk, problems of the socioeconomic development of the two countries and topical problems of international relations, with special reference to the situation in southern Africa and the activity of the nonaligned countries, were discussed. Possibilities for developing bilateral relations in the political and economic fields also were discussed.

Sees Zambian Premier

LD081008 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0912 GMT 8 Apr 82

[Text] Lusaka, 8 Apr (TANJUG) -- A delegation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) headed by member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidency Hamdija Pozderac has arrived on a visit to Zambia at the invitation of the United National Independence Party (UNIP). The delegation was received in Lusaka by Zambian Prime Minister Nalumino Mundia. In the ensuing extensive talk, the development of relations between the two countries was discussed, with special emphasis on possibilities for the expansion of economic cooperation. The LCY and UNIP delegations are to sign tomorrow a protocol on party cooperation in 1982 and 1983. The LCY delegation earlier visited Mozambique and Tanzania.

SAWPY LETTER TO PLO CONDEMNS ISRAELI ACTS

AU061237 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Apr 82 p 2

[Text] The SAWPY has expressed its support to the PLO in connection with Israel's latest actions against the Palestinian people on the West Bank of the Jordan River and in the Gaza Strip. In its letter to the PLO Executive Committee, the Presidium of the SAWPY Federal Conference points out that the working people and citizens of socialist and nonaligned Yugoslavia are seriously concerned over the latest Israeli reprisals against the Palestinian population of the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip.

The Yugoslav peoples and nationalities unanimously and indignantly condemn this behavior by Israel which has once again confirmed its aggressive, expansionist and annexationist policy toward the Arab countries and especially toward the Palestinian people by violating basic human rights, universally accepted international norms and basic principles of the UN Charter.

Thus, the letter says, Israel continues to contribute to the deterioration of an already complex and explosive situation in the region and continues to threaten peace. Expressing the feelings of the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities, the SAWPY also emphasizes on this occasion its readiness to continue to comprehensively support the Palestinian people and the PLO as the Palestinian people's only legitimate representative in the struggle for the fulfillment of their legitimate rights, aspirations and ideals and to establish a free democratic and independent state of Palestine.

RADIO COMMENTS ON FOREIGN EXCHANGE CONTROVERSY

AU032148 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 3 Apr 82

[Text] It appears that we intentionally wanted a weak government and strong republics, Zoran Polic, president of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces, said yesterday in a conversation with journalists, while assessing the position of the Federal Executive Council which, toward the end of its term of office, has once again found itself exposed to criticism. Here is Olivija Rusovac:

The Federal Executive Council was in the past most frequently reproached for its insufficient professional capacity to formulate and implement the policy of economic stabilization. Now, the criticism of the council also has a political note and aims at describing the council as being responsible for a return to statist and centralistic solutions. The reason for this reaction is the Federal Executive Council's proposal on provisional measures dealing with pooling foreign exchange so that, among other things, foreign debts could be repaid in time and exports could be promoted.

With this proposal it is not easy to reconcile the position contained in the Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, according to which the worker is the sole master of income. Accordingly, the worker is the master of income both in dinars and in foreign exchange. Thus, it is interesting that the recent report of the social accounting service on the allocations for general and common expenditures stating that these allocations total 28 percent instead of 18 percent has not provoked even nearly such a strong reaction. We would expect a hot atmosphere in connection with the increasingly weaker accumulative and reproductive capability of the economy and the large investment expenditure. However, nothing of the sort has happened. In this respect, it appears, we have become accustomed and reconciled to the fact that these fields are alienated from the worker. Who then, in fact, controls income? If it were the workers, the question would not arise in such a form. Thus, we proceed from the fact that the associated labor should not be idealized and that it is necessary to bear in mind that the associated labor, too, is subject to divisions in spheres of interest, but only for a short period.

The organizations of associated labor increasingly more frequently retain the foreign exchange earned by exports in the accounts of foreign banks instead of transferring them into the country. Last year, for instance, there were 70,000 requests from the economy to extend the time limit for transferring foreign exchange from foreign to domestic banks. Nearly all requests were granted. At the same time, with the end of the mandate of the Assembly of the current convocation approaching, increasingly more attention is being given to the republican-provincial statism and a weakening of togetherness. The republics and provinces concern themselves much more with the development of their own economies, while concern for common progress has taken second place. Only one single step was necessary to bring about the isolation and encapsulation of the republican and provincial economies. The workers, as well as income, have not gained anything by this because their unified market has thus been denied to them.

It is not clear how one should understand the critics of the Federal Executive Council's measures on foreign exchange. If the worker is the master of income, then there should be no difficulties in the associated labor in connection with the pooling of income even on the federal level. Had the federal state had foreign exchange, it would not have been forced to adopt such a measure, even temporarily, with which it is subject to criticism that it is centralistic and statist. As usual, the critics, too, do not offer self-managing solutions; they only advocate them. However, there is a great difference between the two.

SERBIAN SAWP BODY DISCUSSES ELECTION RESULTS

LD202996 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1711 GMT 29 Mar 82

[Summary] Belgrade, 29 Mar (TANJUG) -- The Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Serbian SAWP met today to discuss the report on the course of elections in the republic. The report is being prepared for the session of the Serbian republican candidate nomination conference scheduled to take place on 6 April.

According to final results, 2,169,000 electors took part in the elections in associated labor in the republic, that is, 89 percent of the total number of electors on the electoral roll. Five million and 802,000 electors cast their vote in the general election in local communities, or 90.85 percent of the electorate.

"Regarding the very good response of the electorate in Kosovo, it was said that this is a reply to the irredentists in Kosovo. In this connection Azem Vlasi stressed that the solid response of the electors in Kosovo is an expression of the feeling of responsibility of the working people and citizens because of the well-known situation in the province. This also demonstrates that the enemy is unable to shift the mood of the broad masses to their advantage or to establish a massive base. The response of 92 percent of the electorate -- in 1978 it was 87.5 percent -- was the result of organized actions aimed at making the election as successful as possible. Enemy slogans were found to have been written on only 43 electoral slips and about 690,000 electors voted in Kosovo. Vlasi also mentioned the "case" at a hamlet near Kacanik, with only 90 electors, where, out of ignorance, after the results of voting had been added up, electoral slips were destroyed. He said that this had not been a malicious enemy action."

The Presidium again discussed the proposed lists of possible candidates for the office of the delegate in the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Serbian Assembly. This list had not been altered substantially and many observations heard during the previous session were repeated today. Reference was made to the considerable number of candidates for a candidate for election into the sociopolitical chamber.

SITUATION IN ETHNICALLY MIXED SERBIA VIEWED

AU071327 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Apr 82 p 6

[Vlastimir Veljkovic report]

[Excerpts] Leskovac, Apr -- Communists and all working people in the 13 communes of the South Morava intercommunal regional community, in which over 500,000 people live, have long since realized that the equality of peoples and nationalities in this multinational area is one of the problems of stability and the condition for the socioeconomic development of the entire region.

New Impetus

The intranational relations in every commune and in the region as a whole are constantly developing, being promoted and enriched with new contents. They are based on mutual confidence and the respect for the national and ethnic individuality of Serbs, Albanians, Bulgarians, Macedonians, Romanies and members of other peoples and nationalities, as well as ethnic groups.

However, the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo have had a considerable influence on the behavior in the Bujanovac, Medvedja and Presevo communes in which Serbs, Albanians, Romanies and members of other peoples and nationalities have been living together for decades. In certain localities the same kind of mood was created as existed in Kosovo. There was fear that intranational relations, which have traditionally been good in this area, could be undermined and disturbed.

Due to the energetic action of the League of Communists and all working people and citizens, the enemy's activity from the positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism in these communes was nipped in the bud. This activity is periodically expressed in the form of writing hostile slogans. Good intranational relations have been preserved.

Economic equality and the struggle to reduce the differences in the level of development, for instance, is one of the sensitive and ever topical problems. All 13 communes of the South Morava region are economically underdeveloped. With the involvement of the League of Communists, the delegate bodies and organs, as well as with the inclusion of the broader social community, great results have been achieved in this region and a radical transformation in all fields of life and work has been achieved. In daily practice substantial equality has also been achieved in this field, particularly in those communes in which nationally mixed population lives, such as Surdulica, Presevo and Bujanovac.

Also, very good results have been achieved as regards the implementation of the principle of equality of the languages and alphabets of the peoples and nationalities in the sociopolitical life, in the work of organs and organizations and so forth. The material, cadre and other conditions are being created for promoting national equality in these fields. In the nationally mixed areas the languages of the peoples and nationalities are heard every day -- at meetings of the self-managing organs, meetings of working people and citizens, in the sociopolitical organizations...

KOSOVO LC PRESIDIUM DISCUSSES SECURITY 6 APR

LD071918 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1631 GMT 7 Apr 82

[Text] Pristina, 7 Apr (TANJUG) -- At an expanded session chaired by Veli Deva last night, the Presidium of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee discussed the political and security situation in the province. The Presidium is reported to have indicated the directions in which the League of Communists and other organized socialist forces should aim their further actions in struggle for stabilization of the situation in the province on the basis of the LCY Central Committee's political platform and the Kosovo League of Communists' action program.

SAHITI ADDRESSES KOSOVO LC PLENUM 7 APR

LD080952 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1819 GMT 7 Apr 82

[Text] Pristina, 7 Apr (TANJUG) -- A session of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee was held in Pristina this afternoon with Petar Kostic in the chair. Following the introductory speech by Sinan Sahiti, the Provincial Committee accepted two proposed documents for the 13th Conference of the Kosovo League of Communists: the report on the activity of the Kosovo League of Communists and its organs, and the resolution on the ideopolitical tasks in the further socialist self-managing socioeconomic development and political stabilization in the province.

Sinan Sahiti stressed that the preparations for the forthcoming conference were made during a period of very intensive ideopolitical activity for the political stabilization of the situation in the province, following the counterrevolutionary events and the further escalation of enemy activity from the positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. He then dealt with the past elections in the League of Communists.

In the elections, he stressed, the process of ideopolitical differentiation has been deepened and the most capable and most consistent members of the League of Communists elected the leadership. However, despite this, a fairly large number of basic League of Communists organizations and areas are still not sufficiently trained for a successful struggle against Albanian nationalism and irredentism.

Sifnan Sahiti went on to stress that the political preparations for the 13th conference are drawing to a close, but that when they are evaluated it should be borne in mind that this period has been very severely encumbered by the impudent escalation of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. In Sahiti's words, last year's counterrevolutionary events, particularly the enemy activities from 11 March to 3 April this year, represent the greatest blow to the Kosovo League of Communists and to all working people and citizens. These events considerably diminish the total results achieved in the struggle against the enemy and for political stabilization.

Having presented a brief report on the enemy actions in March and April, Sahiti said that unfortunately it must be noted and assessed that despite all the political and security measures, the enemy has succeeded not only in marking the anniversary of last year's counterrevolutionary events but also in publicizing its existence and ability to act, not only illegally but also publicly in many parts of the province. The basic reason for this lies in the fact that in certain environments especially political, but also other organized forces, have failed.

Sahiti expressed the view that despite all the negative consequences from the past events, some positive facts and lessons could also be drawn. One is that masses of young and other citizens not only did not join the enemy but condemned it publicly and energetically. It is also significant that political aktivs and cadres have, more or less successfully, directly opposed the enemy and that enemy elements have been quickly identified.

The further strengthening and improvement of the forms of political and social self-protection were described by Sahiti as the strongest aspect of the organized struggle. Particular attention should be paid not merely to nipping enemy action in the bud and preventing the enemy from organizing public excesses, but also to identifying and liquidating illegal enemy activity.

SPILJAK MEETS DEVA, OTHERS IN KOSOVO VISIT

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[Text] Pristina, 7 Apr (TANJUG) -- Mika Spiljak, member of the Presidium of the Council of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation, who is in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo on a 2-day visit, was received today by Veli Deva, president of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee.

Their conversation, in which Sefcet Jasari, president of the Council of the Kosovo Trade Union Federation participated dealt with the efforts being made by the organized socialist forces of the province in the struggle for stabilization of the political situation and economic trends in Kosovo.

Mika Spiljak later talked with the top leadership of the Council of the Kosovo Trade Union Federation about the trade unions' organization and working people's involvement in carrying out the tasks set in the resolution on socioeconomic development of the province. Particular stress was laid on the need for a greater effort by trade union organizations to speed up income-based pooling of labor and resources.

At the end of his visit to the province, Spiljak also talked with the leading people of the Elektroprivreda Kosova composite organization of associated labor.

BORBA SAYS ENEMY LOSING BATTLE IN KOSOVO

AU061436 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Apr 82 p 4

[M. Daci and M. Antic report]

[Summary] Pristina -- "The latest events at the Pristina student center unambiguously show that the enemy operating from Albanian nationalist and irredentist positions is to a great extent losing its dirty battle, especially among the students. Of about 5,500 students who were having their evening meal in the dining hall, barely some 50 sympathizers responded to the call of and joined three known criminals who, let it be said in passing, have nothing in common with the students." The students say that the instigators of disorders were "crafty rowdies, pickpockets and criminals who have been sentenced in the past." The recent elections for delegations and delegates in which about 93 percent of all registered voters in Kosovo participated also demonstrated that the Kosovo people firmly stand on the LCY positions and Tito's road to self-managing socialism. The enemy's appeals against voting fell on deaf ears.

The election sessions of the communal conferences of the League of Communists currently held in all parts of the province are mainly discussing last year's events and hostile activities, critically analyzing the failures of the League of Communists and setting the immediate tasks in the struggle against the enemy. Most of these conferences have established that "a heavy blow has been dealt to the nationalists and irredentists, but none of them has claimed that the enemy has been completely defeated. More time is needed to cut all the roots from under the enemy and restore the mutual trust among the peoples and nationalities." In the future, no room should be left for the enemy and his goals. "The subjective socialist forces have launched a resolute offensive which must bring victory on all fronts." The results that has appeared in the province as soon as possible. "This can and must be achieved."

In recent days the political and security situation in Kosovo has shown that "the system of organized social self-protection is the best barrier against the enemy." This is also indicated among other things by the fact that the enemy has failed in his plans to lead to the streets as many of his sympathizers as possible. "However, this does not imply that the enemy has retreated completely and renounced his extremely dark goals. Certain events indicate that he is changing his methods of activity. In his hopeless position, he is also trying to use the methods of the blackest terrorists. So far, these dirty intentions of his have been uncovered." And so will they be in the future if the present breadth and ardor of the front of the subjective socialist forces continues.

KOSOVO YOUTH, EDUCATION SYSTEM ANALYZED

AU061354 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian No 1630 28 Mar 82 pp 14-17

[Slobodanka Ast and Milan Milosevic report]

[Summary] "Since the counterrevolutionary demonstrations broke out, it has been clear that children have been a weapon -- some say a tool -- in the hands of the irredentists.

"In all the waves of fanatical attempts to maintain continuous unrest, the irredentists pushed children and youths forward as the main protagonists. It seems that envoys continuously visited schools and from time to time called for lessons to be stopped. Juveniles were instigated to write slogans and to destroy and desecrate monuments in some villages." When the most aggressive juveniles who attacked security organs were brought to court, it was alleged that "children were being arrested in Kosovo." In 1968, in 1981 and in the latest March events, the Pristina region with its concentration of young people was at the center of hostile activities. Enemies are interested in schools, and therefore outsiders can enter the Obilic secondary school center with its 1,600 pupils only if they leave their identity card at the entrance.

Out of the Kosovo population of 1,585,000, some 460,000 are students, of whom 326,000 are in primary schools, over 85,000 are in secondary vocational schools, and 25,000 are regular and about 12,000 are external university students.

The Pristina University Council has recommended that next year 9,158 regular students and 4,100 external students should be enrolled, 79 percent in Albanian departments and 21 percent in Serbo-Croatian ones. The higher technical school in Mitrovica and the economic and commercial school of Pec will no longer admit students, but 300 students will be admitted in Pec to a newly formed branch of the economics faculty.

All these young people have faced a constant increase in unemployment, from 11,000 in 1960 to 73,000 in 1981. Some 30 candidates apply for each job. There are 17,000 unemployed secondary school graduates, 638 people with higher education and 290 graduates. It is estimated that some 58,000 people will be able to find employment in the coming 5 years, or 11,500 annually on the average.

Another peculiarity is the increase of girls in schools. In 1975-76, there were 100,000 girls in primary schools, and 5 years later 121,800. One-quarter of the Kosovo University students are girls, but at the medical faculty, 40 percent are girls.

In many places in Kosovo, teachers are the most numerous professional class. "According to some people, it seems that among the 20,000 instructors, teachers and professors, the number of those who are truly fighting against irredentist indoctrination has not yet prevailed. The majority think that it is enough that they have 'declared themselves' and now keep quiet."

According to the most conservative estimates, some 200 teachers were involved in various ways in the demonstrations. There are no reliable reports on what has happened to them; "it is assumed that some of them have found employment in other schools." Kosovo has long suffered from a shortage of qualified teachers. Up to 60 percent of Albanian language teachers lack proper qualifications, but this is no excuse for reemploying nationalist teachers. Salih Nusi, provincial secretary for education, says it is not true that some teachers dismissed after the demonstrations have been employed at other schools, but "a number of those who were not very prominent have found jobs outside the schools," he says.

Many Kosovo schools are overcrowded. In Prizren, 18 schools work in three shifts, in Pristina 17 schools, and some schools work even in four shifts. Teachers' pay, however, has improved considerably in the past 5 years. The average annual income increase in secondary education since 1976 has been 40 percent. The average personal income of teachers in 1981 was between 10,000 and 12,000 dinars a month, but the provision of apartments has not been good.

"However, many people see a key to the collective awareness of Kosovo intelligentsia not in its social position but in its young age and the almost unbelievable (by world standards) dynamic growth of the new university and practically all other cultural institutions."

Promotion at the university has been rapid. The average age of a professor is between 30 and 35. The university, which marked its 10th anniversary the year before last, has turned out 22,000 graduates and now employs 260 doctors of science and 210 teachers with master's degrees.

"In such a situation, the behavior was dictated above all by a distinct awareness of the national affirmation of the Albanians." Most money and brains were invested in cultural and history subjects, which took 40 percent of research funds in the past 3 years. About 71 billion dinars have been spent on culture, including the national library in Pristina, a national theater in Djakovica and many culture halls.

There has been little critical selectivity, and some people have reached the academic heights through bureaucratic and family influence. "The time now is such that vocational strivings to preserve the status quo are turning into political resistance, objectively speaking."

It has been publicly stated that teaching programs, from primary schools to the university, have influenced the indoctrination of the youth. Salih Nusi says that special groups are at work sifting the curricula, and that programs should be prepared stressing the joint creation of all Yugoslav peoples. Many people believe that this work is making slow progress, but efforts are being made to translate about 150 primary and secondary school textbooks used in Serbia. The department of history at the university should pay less attention to Illyrians and more to contemporary history, and to relations between Yugoslavia and Albania.

Some people fear that present criticism is based excessively on bourgeois historiography, and others warn about a witch hunt. "The prevailing opinion is that the matter should be left to scientists. Many people are perturbed by the fact that science at present keeps quiet. Whether one wants to admit it or not, the intelligentsia remains the catalyst in the pyscho-social seething in Kosovo."

New beliefs require time to arise, Milija Kovacevic, Kosovo delegate to the SFRY Assembly Chamber of Republics and Provinces, says. "He sees the real causes and explanations for the irresoluteness and slowness in Kosovo political life in the fact that national closeness and solidarity is stronger than actual class ideological and political differentiation."

LJUBLJANA LC ON FOREIGN EXCHANGE, OTHER TOPICS

LD280118 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1709 GMT 27 Mar 82

[Text] Ljubljana, 27 Mar (TANJUG) -- Today's program-electoral conference of the Ljubljana City Slovene League of Communists expressed decisive support for the critical appraisal of etatist and other negative trends in our social life and system. This concerns attacks on the concept of the basic organization of associated labor as a basic cell of associated labor and of prescriptions for returning to the outdated entrepreneurial forms of economic activity. Our working people, deeply imbued with the idea of developing socialist self-management, are not prepared to accept such prescriptions, it was stressed at the session.

At the conference of Ljubljana communists the proposals for pooling together the social sector's foreign currency served as an illustration of prescriptions for returning to old forms of decisionmaking, alienated from working people.

We have to be careful regarding public statements which express ideas about going back to unitarism, warned Andrej Marinc, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, in his opening speech. The causes of the difficulties we face today cannot be found in the position of the republics and provinces but primarily in the piling up and slow solving of problems, in the slow development of self-management system, in our unrealistic planning. We are having to pay for all this today.

The only way out of our difficulties is to strengthen the position of workers and their material basis, as well as the material basis of associated labor, said Marinc. This was the motto of all other discussions.

The key question, stressed the Ljubljana communists, is whether the worker, through his work and good work results, will control the means of simple and expanded reproduction and influence their formation or whether this will be in the hand of state administration or the administration of self-management interest communities.

We must eliminate everything which creates the impression that the delegate system as such is not good, that it is too complicated.

It is clear that the delegate system will not be able to function and that it will lose its link with the grassroots if we encumber it with innumerable questions and such frequent sessions that there is no time between them for a broader democratic exchange of views either within the framework of the delegation and even less so further afield, Marjan Orozen, current president of the Ljubljana City Conference of the Slovene League of Communists, said.

We must do everything in order that the newly-elected delegates do not fall prey to the administration but become a conscious factor of our system, Orozen said. He noted that this cannot be ensured merely by the educational training of the delegates but that it is necessary to develop harmonious work by the delegations and political organizations. We must transfer more resolutely the focal point of organizing communists to self-managing organs and the delegate system. This is not yet ensured with the present forms of education, Orozen said. He went on to say that the League of Communists is today more present in the political system of the municipality, of the town and of the republic than in the system of the organization of associated labor and local community. From this one can draw the conclusion that the League of Communists is more active in leaderships than in basic organizations, more in the institutions of the delegate system than in its grassroots.

As regards the work methods of the League of Communists, the conference raised the demand that all basic organizations and leaderships of the League of Communists meet obligatorily, after every session of the Central Committee and that they set tasks for themselves from the conclusions of the Central Committee. In order to implement this, League of Communists leaderships will have to change their work methods in line with the principle of "less, but better and more consistently." It is impossible for the tasks to reach the basic League of Communists organizations if the leaderships adopt new tasks and new standpoints at every session. Because the actions are not fully implemented we become inefficient and together with us the system, too, becomes inefficient, it was pointed out at the conference of Ljubljana communists.

Joze Smole, president of the Assembly of Ljubljana Radio and Television and member of the LCY Central Committee, was elected new president of the Ljubljana City Conference of the Slovene League of Communists.

Iztok Winkler, associate professor of the biotechnical department and president of the Republican Committee for Science and Culture, was elected new secretary of the Committee of the Ljubljana City Conference of the Slovene League of Communists.

PRICE RISE DATA FOR EARLY 1982 PROVIDED

LD080208 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1132 GMT 7 Apr 82

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Apr (TANJUG) -- Retail prices in Yugoslavia went up two per cent last month. During the first quarter of the year, they rose 5.6 percent over the same period of 1981.

The high price increase recorded early in the year, although appreciably lower than a year ago, may act adversely on holding the rate of inflation within its 15 percent limits foreseen for this year. The price rise last March was primarily due to higher-priced farm produce, while prices of industrial articles rose by about one percentage point.

Checking the price increase in the country and further cutting the balance-of-payments deficit are among major tasks of the Yugoslav economic stabilization policy. Whereas prices are envisaged to grow by no more than 15 percent in 1982, last year they grew by about 39 percent.